

IN THESE TIMES

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The Philadelphia Story
Salim Muwakkil p.8
Alice Walker p.16

GLASS WARFARE

French students repel
Chirac's assault on
education

page 3

Immigration impact

5

Who should run corporations?

6

John Stockwell on KAL 007

10

Israel and anti-Semitism

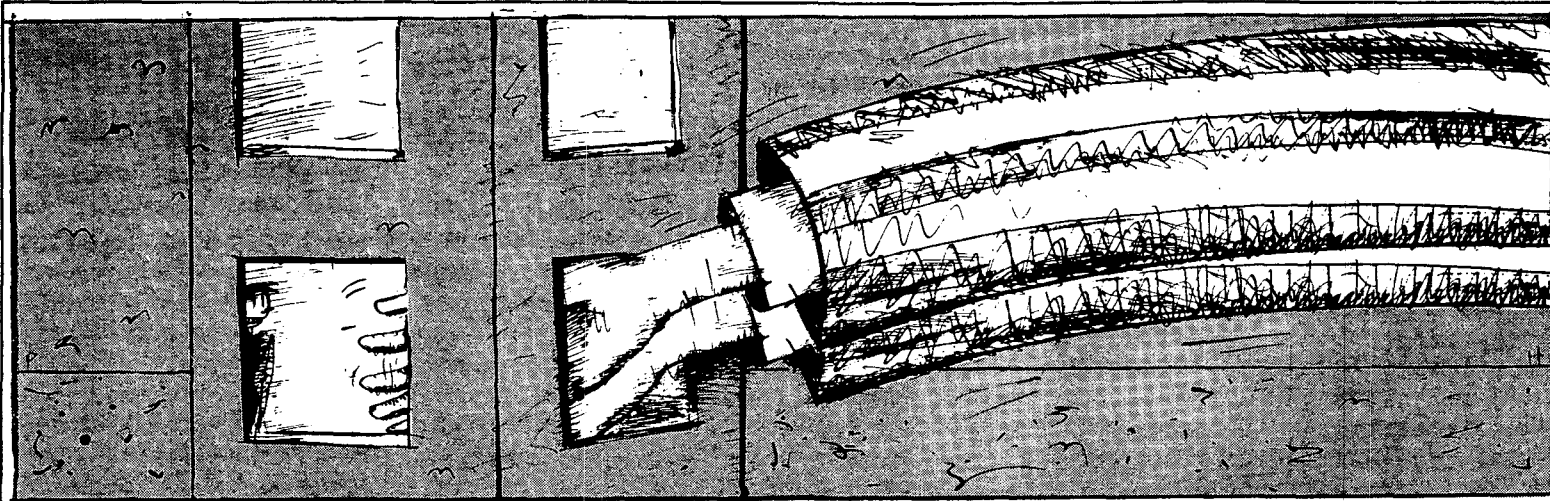
11

Defying the odds in Michigan

12

Jonathan Demme's wild thing

13



Peter Hannan

The clues in a political whodunit

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

In the wake of the break-in last month at the International Center for Development Policy, where files were rifled but no valuables taken, Reps. Don Edwards (D-CA) and Edward Fieghan (D-OH) have called on the FBI to conduct an investigation of these and similar incidents involving organizations opposed to the administration's Central America policy. Some civil rights organizations are questioning whether the FBI is the proper body to investigate crimes that it may have been a part of.

The Center for Constitutional Rights in New York has assembled a list of 42 break-ins since 1983 that it believes have been politically motivated. "We are very suspicious that some government agency has had a hand in them," says the center's Gloria Weinberg.

I spent several days going through the cases on the center's list. I examined those that, according to the center's description, seemed to be the most egregious examples of political dirty tricks rather than simple burglary. From this brief investigation, I am not quite ready to embrace the center's conclusion.

Political break-ins

Yet many of the incidents on the center's list fit clearly into the category of politically motivated crimes. For instance, last July Lisa Pashbjerg of Detroit, who had been active in a Central America solidarity organization, returned home to her apartment one night to find her files and her books about Central America dumped out on the floor. No valuables were taken from her apartment. The next month, she got a phone call from a man—"your average male American voice," she said—who told her, "I know about your activities and you'd better stop or you'll regret it." He refused to identify himself.

At the Old Cambridge Baptist Church in Cambridge, Mass., where several solidarity organizations have their offices, eight break-ins have occurred in the last two years. On Nov. 27, 1984, on the eve of the arrival of Salvadoran refugees at the church, the first occurred. Someone broke into the office of the Nuevo Instituto Centralamerica (NICA), the Central America Solidarity Association (CASA) and the New England Solidarity Organization. Desks and file cabinets were left open. A purse containing cash and credit cards was not taken, even though it was in a drawer that the intruders had opened. The only thing missing was a cassette of phone messages.

At one of the later break-ins, a staff member saw a slight blond man running from the basement. At another, intruders left a rambling note denouncing CASA's work on behalf of "Indian Hispanics." Beverly Truman, the director of NICA, thinks the break-ins could be a form of government harassment "to make us feel isolated."

In another of the incidents listed by the center, there is some evidence of government complicity. At 6:00 a.m. on Oct. 27, 1984, a staff member of *Sojourners*, a left-wing Christian evangelical magazine militantly opposed to the administration's Central America policy, stopped by the magazine's Washington, D.C., office to pick up some materials. He saw four men, one carrying a camera, who looked like they were training to enter *Sojourners'* office through the back door. The men refused to identify themselves, but the staff member wrote down the license plate of their car. A former intelligence official later traced it to a block of plates belonging to the National Security Agency (NSA), the government's top secret electronic eavesdropping center.

There have also been clear cases of government surveillance of Central American solidarity organizations. In Dallas the FBI paid a Salvadoran refugee, Frank Varelli, to infiltrate the Committee of Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Varelli's identity became known when, after resigning from the FBI, he tried to recoup back pay.

"KGB Foxred"

But other cases I looked into were far less clear-cut. Besides the incident at *Sojourners*, I could find no other clear indication of government involvement. Cases like those of Lisa Pashbjerg suggest either right-wing guerrilla theater or foreign pro-contra organizations that have taken upon themselves the task of harassing the administration's opponents. There is a history, beginning with anti-Castro Cuban organizations, of violent right-wing refugee politics.

One congressional aide, who wants to see a government investigation of the incidents, does not believe that the FBI or other agency is responsible for the break-ins. "Frankly, I'm skeptical of the charges that the FBI actually did the break-ins. I don't think

they're that stupid anymore," he said. "We're far more concerned that it could be far-right or foreign groups."

Still other cases may not have been political at all. The center urged me to call Nancy Cummins, the chair of Friendship City, an organization in Boulder, Colo., that has a "sister city" in Nicaragua. Housed in a church, Friendship City had its offices broken into this year; and while an attempt was made to jimmy open file cabinets, no valuables were taken from the office. But the morning before I called, the Boulder police arrested an ex-convict who they believe had broken into several Boulder churches, including the one that housed Friendship City. Cummins now doubts that the break-in was political.

In Cambridge on November 17, someone broke into Centro Presente, a center for Central American refugees. According to Sister Rosemary Cummins, the intruders went through files on the first and third floors and stole a computer, two computer printers, all the organization's disks and postage stamps. The theft of the printers and of the stamps suggests ordinary burglary. "We don't know if it was just the common robbery," Cummins says.

But the Center for Constitutional Rights lists the incident among its political break-ins; and Chris Marker of *Sojourners* thinks the intruders are now making the break-ins look like ordinary burglaries. "When it became known that it was happening all around the country, a lot of the talk was about how nothing of

THE STORY INSIDE

value was taken. So I expect that now something of value is taken."

In Washington, Casa de la Esperanza, a Mennonite church organization that provides service and referrals to Central American refugees was broken into numerous times last summer. The first few times the intruders didn't steal anything, but the last times they took the telephones, scissors and some money. One of these times they left a note, saying "KGB Foxred."

Diana Fiel of Casa de la Esperanza is still not sure that teenage vandals did not perpetrate the break-ins. The small hole in the security bars through which the intruders entered indicates to D.C. police—who are by no means an arm of the federal government—that kids must have done it. The Center for Constitutional Rights presented the case, according to Fiel, "a little bit stronger" than it really was.

Even the rule may prove the exception. After the most recent break-in at the Solidarity offices at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church occurred last June, Cambridge police arrested two men, one an ex-convict, for the crime. The men were convicted on breaking and entering charges. Beverly Truman speculates that "the FBI has recruited people with records to carry out political tasks," but this sounds a little far-fetched, even to a survivor of the Nixon era.

Taken together, these incidents are certainly reason for protest and concern. And they undoubtedly merit a high-level investigation. But the Center for Constitutional Rights' list does not yet merit the conclusion that the government itself is integrally involved or that the incidents are part of a concerted national campaign.

One down, two up

For those who haven't noticed, we have a new assistant managing editor, Miles Harvey, who has taken over for Jeff Reid, who is now working full time on books and Arts and Entertainment. Miles previously worked for UPI and has written for the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Daily Illini*, and has also worked on various political campaigns.

We have a new editor of the In Short page as well, Joel Bleifuss. Joel comes to us from Columbia, Mo., where he was a journalist. He has also written from Spain and Portugal for us and for *Dissent*. While we're delighted to have Joel on staff, we will miss Rachel Sternberg, his predecessor, who left to try her hand at journalism in Mexico. We wish Rachel well and hope that she will soon be writing for us from Latin America.



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IN THESE TIMES



Student protesters force open the Sorbonne on December 6.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

France's new wave of student unrest

UNLIKE THE MAY 1968 EXPLOSION of revolutionary fervor, inspired by images of the Viet Cong and Che Guevara, the December 1986 French student movement was built up this fall by an ostentatiously apolitical generation around its own single issue. On Thursday, December 4, the movement peaked when a million students marched through the streets of Paris and other French cities to demand that the conservative government of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac drop its proposed university reform bill. The government said no.

By the following Monday the government had caved in. Chirac announced he was withdrawing the proposed legislation. Meanwhile, a weekend of police violence had carried the movement beyond its single issue. On Wednesday, December 10, the students were back in the streets, this time joined by thousands of adults, to mourn the

death of a student and say "never again" to police brutality.

The events rapidly changed the country's mood and seemed to open the way to a repoliticization of the depoliticized youth of the '80s. Students took to the streets because they were afraid that "reforms" would mean that fewer students would receive the education necessary for a job. This was the occasion for "cohabitation" between Chirac and Socialist President Francois Mitterrand to make a real political difference for the first time. Mitterrand made known that he had advised Chirac to withdraw his bill. It was a wise decision, made "a little late but in time," the president said. For the first time, Mitterrand was convincingly occupying the position he has sought as mediator and guardian of national unity.

Only the ultra-right National Front denounced Chirac's weakness. There was, after all, a precedent for dropping his reform bill. In June 1984 Mitterrand dropped the school reform bill prepared by his minister of education, Alain Savary, after a long campaign of opposition by right-wing champions of private schools, in conjunction with Catholic clergy, succeeded in organizing a demonstration of around a million people in Paris.

Chirac not only dropped the university reform bill, but also announced a general "pause for reflection" in putting through the right's electoral program. The most controversial measures—the new citizenship code that would require children born in France to "choose" French citizenship, and the privatization of prisons—were put aside until next spring. Chirac promised to involve students in consultations on educational reform.

This, too, followed the precedent set in June 1984, when Mitterrand called a halt to Socialist reforms. All this confirmed that without massive upheaval or repression, France cannot be led very far either to the left or to the right.

Had he not backed down, Chirac faced a mounting militant student revolt, broadly backed by public opinion and capable of

being supported by a Socialist president who in a crisis could call elections that Chirac could scarcely hope to win. Moreover, the unrest had sent the French franc tumbling, alarming financial circles.

The outstanding leftover issue was the police's behavior. Compared to 1968, the students are more resolutely nonviolent and the police more violent. This sharp contrast exposed the strategy of provocation apparently being attempted by certain far-right groups in and outside the police.

Chirac's "law-and-order" team, Interior Minister Charles Pasqua and security boss Robert Pandraud, had evidently decided to combat the student movement in the old familiar way: by letting—or making—it "degenerate" into "violence" that would discredit it with the general public.

The scenario began on the evening of December 4, just after Education Minister René Monory rejected the student demand to abandon the university reform bill. Some of the huge crowd of students gathered on

The protests may open the way for a repoliticization of the youth of the '80s.

the Invalides mall started to move down the Quai d'Orsay toward the National Assembly, where the issue was being debated. Although disappointed, the students were calm. Objects were thrown (it's not clear by whom) at the national guards.

The guards fired tear gas grenades at the students. Against regulations, some of the grenades were fired horizontally at students only a few feet away. The very students who were trying to hold back the crowd were hit. One was François Rigal, 21, whose left eye was smashed by a grenade.

A second student, Jerome Duval, 18, was also struck in the face. Another student lost a hand, and yet another a toe.

Groups of obvious trouble-makers were treated with amazing leniency. Helmeted members of the fascist group GUP (Groupe Union Defense)—which usually holes up in the rightist law school in the Rue d'Assas between forays to beat up leftists with iron bars—were filmed by TF1 television being waved through guard lines by a police officer.

Late evening strollers in the Latin Quarter were sent fleeing in all directions by two-men teams of club-wielding toughs driving motorcycles at breakneck speed down the sidewalks. They turned out to belong to a strange police corps of "flying

Continued on page 15

"Zombies' parade" angers the right

In September "new right" ideologue Louis Pauwels rejoiced at the advent of a right-wing younger generation that "has definitively broken with the spirit of May 1968."

Then came the big December 4 student demonstration. Two days later, Pauwels spat out an editorial in *Figaro Magazine*, the jewel of Robert Hersant's press empire, against "the zombies' parade," made up of "the children of feeble-minded rock, the pupils of pedagogic vulgarity...the products of [former Socialist Minister of Culture Jack] Lang culture" who have "nothing in their heads."

Pauwels' tirade climaxed with what will no doubt remain his most memorable line: "It is a youth afflicted with mental AIDS."

Lang lost no time in replying that he was "proud to be alien to that culture of hatred" expressed by Pauwels and the Hersant press. Robert Hersant is front-runner to buy the leading French TV channel, TF1, as part of the Chirac government's "privatization." Lang warned that "if TF1 were given to these champions of neo-fascism, our freedom would be in danger."

—D.J.

The forces behind the education bill

The far-right organization UNI (Union Nationale Inter-Universitaire), which has received more than \$500,000 from the neo-conservative National Endowment for Democracy, was the main lobby pushing Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's government into its disastrous attempt at university reform.

Alain Devaquet, who as minister for research and higher education gave his name to the bill, was only an unfortunate front man. A well-intentioned and brilliant young professor, Devaquet was given the task of selling a measure he had managed to improve but still did not fully believe in himself. Devaquet resigned upon learning of the death of a student.

The real impetus, all observers agree, came from Chirac's adviser on education, Yves Durand, who stayed in the shadows and put pressure on Chirac to speed through the elitist reforms sought by UNI. Durand was formerly vice president of UNI, whose several hundred teacher and student members are militant rightists. UNI has campaigned against Catholic relief for spreading "subversion" in the Third World, and is linked to the World Anti-Communist League.

A year ago, after revelations in the daily *Liberation*, American neo-conservative Carl Gershman acknowledged that his National Endowment for Democracy had granted UNI \$575,000 "to encourage democratic debate" in France. —D.J.

IN SHORT

Joel Bleifuss

A dissonant note

The Czech government, which was put into power by the Soviet Union in 1968, has begun persecuting members of Jazz Section, a Prague-based musicians' group that for 15 years has been that country's most active disseminator of non-official culture. On September 2 authorities raided Jazz Section's library and art gallery. They seized 800 books, several hundred magazines and an exhibition of drawings by a group called Engineer Garin's Rays. Two days later seven members of Jazz Section's executive committee were arrested. The charge? "Unauthorized business enterprise." Until 1985 Jazz Section had successfully sponsored jazz concerts and cultural forums, put out *Jazz Bulletin* (circulation 75,000) and published both a paperback-book series and art monographs. The U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee suspects that the crackdown is related to plans by Jazz Section members to attend the Helsinki Review Conference that began in November in Vienna.

Tom goes to college, or tries to

Tom Vogel, 21, of Memphis, has publicly stated he will not register with the Selective Service. In the fall of 1983, he had planned to go to Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. But that was the year Congress passed the Solomon Amendment cutting off federal aid to students who have not registered for the draft. Financially unable to attend Antioch, Vogel made plans to enter Memphis State University in September 1984. But Tennessee law prohibits non-registrants from attending state schools. Vogel was once again without a college. He challenged the Tennessee law (the only one of its kind in the U.S.) in federal district court and then in a U.S. court of appeals. Both courts upheld Tennessee's right to exclude him. So Vogel asked the U.S. Supreme Court to consider the case. On December 1 the Supreme Court, turning down his petition without comment, refused to hear the case. Vogel says he will continue speaking and working against the Selective Service law while considering what to do next.

Finagling EPZs

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) has a problem. The Seabrook nuclear power plant in New Hampshire (next to Massachusetts) and the Shoreham nuclear plant on New York's Long Island cannot begin boiling water until state and local officials okay evacuation procedures for communities within the plants' Emergency Planning Zones (EPZ), a 10-mile radius around a nuclear site. Both Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts and Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York have refused to approve the evacuation plans for those plants. To get around this the NRC has trotted out a computer-based study to show that the radioactive dangers of a nuclear accident are less than previously thought. In some cases, the NRC argues, the 10-mile EPZ could safely be reduced to two miles. In the case of Seabrook this would safely void Dukakis' veto. So far the NRC proposal has two strikes going against it: an NRC internal memo of last April questioning the validity of the study; and the official judgment of the State Department, which last April advised Americans to evacuate Kiev, a city a mere 70 miles from the Chernobyl plant.

First Nestle's, now GE

INFAC, the organization that brought you the Nestle boycott to protest infant formula marketing in the Third World, has taken on the nuclear weapons industry. INFAC is calling for a boycott of General Electric, the company that is involved in more nuclear weapons systems than any other. But INFAC is stepping slowly in expanding the boycott to RCA and NBC, two recent GE acquisitions. The group is not yet calling for a boycott of RCA, since that GE division is still getting rid of peripheral moneymakers like RCA Records. Not that the RCA label won't make a good target. GE/RCA is now number-two on the list of the Pentagon's top electronics contractors. GE is anticipating getting its portion of the \$69 billion in Star Wars money that will be spent on electronic gear over the next 10 years. As for GE/NBC, INFAC is studying exactly how best it can take on one of the three eyes of corporate America.

Leader of the PAC

"[GE Chairman] Jack Welch wants to be number one in the things he does, and he wants defense," Wolfgang Demisch, an analyst for First Boston Corporation, told *Business Week* earlier this year. That road to the top can get dirty. On May 13, 1985, GE pleaded guilty to 108 counts of filing false claims on an Air Force contract. Apparently, GE had squeezed \$800,000 out of altered timesheets. The company is also an industry leader when it comes to lobbying Congress. GE's Washington staff numbers 120. In that way they are keeping the memory of former GE President Charles Wilson alive. An internal memo Wilson wrote in 1944 observed, "The revulsion against war not too long hence will be an almost insuperable obstacle for us to overcome. For that reason, I am convinced that we must begin now to set the machinery in motion for a permanent war economy." (Thus speaks the GE wolf behind the sheep's slogan, "bringing good things to life.") Is NBC heralding that call? GE/NBC recently set up their own PAC, becoming the first network to do so.



Nicaraguan soldiers at a military hospital in Managua in 1984. The youth on the left was 14 years old.

The Geneva Convention and other victims

The contras direct attack on Nicaragua's health care system—"the jewel in the crown" of the revolution—is one of their most effective strategies to thwart the success of the Sandinista movement, says Robert Baron, professor of medicine at the University of California-San Francisco.

Baron was one of 165 North American health care workers who returned from the fourth annual North America-Nicaragua Colloquium on Health held in Managua three weeks ago. Colloquium participants heard testimony about the health consequences of the war from the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Pan American Health Organization and Nicaragua's governmental and opposition Human Rights Commissions and traveled to the war-ravaged north to meet with Nicaraguan doctors, nurses and psychiatrists and to visit hospitals and clinics.

Though Geneva Convention guidelines clearly prohibit targeting health facilities and personnel, the contras have blown up seven medical buildings in the last year, says Baron, who adds, "Forty-two salaried health workers have been killed by contras since 1982 and many more non-salaried health *brigadistas*, midwives and medical students."

International health organizations, like UNICEF and the Pan American Health Organization, have recognized the Sandinistas for the strides made in improving public health, like the decline in the infant death rate since the 1979 revolution. "By specifically attacking the health care system, the contras are trying to undermine the success of the Sandinistas," says Baron.

"This destruction of medical facilities is consistent with the CIA's policy of low-intensity,

long-term warfare in an attempt to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy and produce terror in the minds of the Nicaraguan people."

Says Joe Ellen Rodriguez, psychiatry resident at St. Mary's Hospital in San Francisco, "The effects of the war are everywhere, absolutely everywhere. The issue of the [U.S.] embargo is an absolutely frightening one when you're there: respirators don't work right, transport beds for newborns don't have all their parts.... The best pediatric hospital in Nicaragua only has two transport beds and one doesn't have all its parts operational...."

"[They] can't get supplies, drugs, equipment. There is something horribly, ethically, morally wrong with this war. Americans would cringe if they knew what was happening with their tax dollars."

—Jackey Gold

A different kind of fusion—anti-nuclear

Despite much agonizing over detail, representatives of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign—known as "the Freeze"—voted overwhelming at their annual convention the first weekend in December to merge with SANE and to forge closer links with the Freeze Voter political action committee. Since they are already the largest disarmament groups in the U.S., the two—or three—together should bring new organizational unity and strength to a peace movement that has simultaneously won broad public support but failed to clinch definitive victories.

From its birth in 1981, the campaign for a nuclear freeze rapidly won broad popular and institutional support. Approved in numerous referenda and in the U.S. House of Representatives, the Freeze as national policy idea peaked in 1982-83; but the movement continued with 1,824 local groups loosely coordinated by a national office. It has taken up other disarmament issues—especially the comprehensive test ban. In some instances it has broadened its politics to oppose U.S. policy in Central America.

Although the Campaign claims 250,000 "regular activists," its new drive for formal members has signed up only 7,000 so far. Freeze Voter was spun off in 1983 as an independent PAC to do electoral work.

SANE, formed in the '50s as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, claims 140,000 members, but it has not had the same kind of grassroots vitality or local chapter activity as the Freeze. Its strength has come from a better-financed, tightly structured national organization with a strong Washington presence.

Last spring leaders in SANE and the Freeze began discussing the possibility of a merger. Beyond its own political merits, the idea was pushed by funders and was motivated by both fundraising difficulties and the desire to regain lost political initiative.

In the coming months Freeze and Freeze Voter will negotiate to bridge staff estrangement and figure out how best to unite their efforts. Freeze representatives rejected an alternative that would have made the dominant structure a political action committee, but

organizers are unclear on whether it is best for the PAC to be independent of the merged group but allied, or to be internal and membership-oriented, as SANE's PAC is now. When these issues are resolved, the SANE-Freeze merger will proceed.

Although nuclear disarmament will be the focus of the as-yet-unnamed organization, its mandate will extend to other peace-related issues. One aim is to provide a strong, clear voice to the media, and to that end many would like to see the new organization recruit a prominent figure as chairman. Much as peace advocates admire Rev. Jesse Jackson, many fear the political consequences of their movement becoming too identified with him.

Since the Freeze has receded as a political focus, the organization decided to focus over the next two years on building for the 1988 elections, with emphasis on the test ban treaty and Star Wars. The new group also will commit itself to a long-term goal of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

—David Moberg

THE SOUTHWEST

By Tim Vanderpool

TUCSON, AZ

THIS PAST OCTOBER, A SMALL group of Hispanics picketed the Tucson office of Rep. Morris Udall (D-AZ). Udall, a longtime moderate generally considered sympathetic to minority rights, was one of 204 House Democrats who found themselves voting in favor of the Simpson-Rodino immigration reform bill.

Defending his decision, Udall called it one of the most difficult of his career, and a tough compromise that ultimately contained "more good than bad." What lured Udall and other Democrats into supporting the bill was a provision granting amnesty to illegal aliens who could successfully prove that they were consistently residing in the U.S. prior to Jan. 1, 1982. In a subsequent press release, Udall predicted that the legislation would bring millions out of the shadows, offering them the opportunity of freedom and citizenship. The bill cleared Congress, and on November 6, Ronald Reagan signed it into law.

Beating back the brown tide

Yet it appears that the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986—like reform efforts in the past—fails to fully address the problem, one that reaches far beyond the chain-link fence marking the international line. Less a long-term answer than a short-term panacea, the law seems intent upon perpetuating the notion that the U.S. can easily exorcise its economic insecurities by persecuting certain minorities who are perceived as getting too big a slice of the American pie. In the 1880s it was the Chinese and the "coolie invasion"; today it is the Hispanics and the dreaded "brown tide."

Civil rights organizers were quick to attack the new law, labeling it discriminatory and ill-conceived. Joining in the attack were business lobbyists, who saw the employer sanctions in the legislation as harsh and undeserved. Labor unions, traditionally the prime movers behind restrictive immigration policy, found themselves split between support and a nagging suspicion that the law may contain a few unexpected twists that could cause problems for all workers, regardless of nationality. And at the bottom of the ladder, as always, were the immigrants themselves, whispering in desperate consternation about a law that frightens them deeply and confuses them even more.

The reform act throws all of these groups into a whirlpool, since its various provisions contain so many contradictions and slanted motives that no one can safely predict what will result.

Among these provisions are points calling for a system of penalties directed against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens, an allowance for up to 350,000 "guest workers" to annually enter the country on a temporary basis, the creation of a special office within the Department of Justice geared specifically to handle the arising civil rights complaints, and an amnesty for longtime alien residents based on several conditions. A subsequent bill provides the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) with a budget increase to deal with the increased workload from the bill.

Between the law as it is written and the law as it will be used, there exists an uncertain gap, a troubled hinterland many see as quite dangerous to minority rights. Civil rights lawyers point most prominently to the employer sanctions, which offer not only the potential of harassment of the employer but also for widespread discrimination against individuals who are considered "foreign" in appearance. Tucson civil rights attorney Antonio Bustamante calls the law overtly biased and blatantly unconstitutional. "In my opinion it will result in the issuance of a national I.D. card specifically for Hispanics and other suspected immigrants. And I'm bothered by the fact that it singles out only people of color to prove that they have the right to be here."

Under the law, employers are required to

Immigration reform crosses an uncertain border into law



Eric Twachtman

The Arizona-Mexico border region is feeling the impact of the new immigration law.

ask all applicants for two forms of identification and then file a form proving that the employers have done so. In the view of Bustamante and others, this will motivate many employers to circumvent the situation entirely, opting instead to hire non-minorities, thereby avoiding the risk of penalty. That risk is substantial. Employers who ignore the guidelines can face a barrage of civil and criminal penalties, ranging from a graduating system of fines to eventual imprisonment. Despite this, Bustamante says that not all employers will be deterred; many will continue to hire illegal aliens, factoring the possibility of fines into the cost of doing business. And this, he says, will result in the deterioration of working conditions because of employers who point to the risk as a justification for lower wages and worse treatment of workers.

Others claim the new law will cause more problems for the employer than the employee. A theme commonly expressed in business circles is that the new law forces the employer to act as an arm of the INS, helping to monitor the flow of illegal aliens.

Barbara Buck, spokesperson for the Western Growers Association, an organization representing more than 2,000 farmers, packers and shippers of produce in Arizona and California, says that association members are reluctant to accept the additional responsibilities foisted upon them. "We are not the least bit pleased with the employer sanctions," Buck says, "and we don't think that they will be effective in cutting down the flow of undocumented workers." Buck claims the immigrant workers are an integral part of agriculture in the Southwest and are bound to suffer along with the industry as a whole.

But Buck says growers did gain two essential concessions: the clause providing for the admittance of guest workers and a provision relating to search warrants. She says the latter will raise agriculture to the same level of legal protection previously afforded hotels and restaurants. Prior to the new law, INS agents were empowered to enter a farmer's fields without notice; now they will be required to ask the courts for permission.

Doing the dirty work

And though agriculture hires only 8-15 percent of illegal aliens in the U.S., nearly 50 percent of the farm work force is undocumented. Buck says that members of her association have attempted to hire documented workers, to the point of offering higher wages, but all to no avail. "The truth is that American workers simply do not want these jobs," Buck says.

Tucson restaurateur Robert Katz echoes the sentiments of Buck. "I have a hard time getting Americans to work in my tortilla

factory," he says, "so in the past I have probably hired people who were in this country illegally, though I never asked. And now I am expected to go back and ask these people, good employees, for papers? And then fire anyone who can't come up with them?"

Like others in his field, Katz wonders what the new law will mean for his business, and where he will find good workers in the future. He admits that he will have to start being more careful, though he's not sure what all his responsibilities will be under the new law.

Even less sure is Helen Mountner, Arizona director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Mountner says that the ACLU has opposed the reform through all its various incarnations, and sees little that is positive coming from the new law. The ACLU feels that the law will inevitably create a wave of discrimination suits. And though pleased by the creation of a special counsel to deal with those suits, she is worried that the Justice Department is dragging its feet in appointing the body, which is to be composed of judges well-versed in civil rights cases. She says that because of a lack of legal guidelines in the new law, the INS and other enforcement agencies could conceivably be left in a state of chaos on the immigration issue.

The counsel was created in an attempt to soothe such fears, and a provision within the law states that, if after a period of three years cases of discrimination are shown to be flourishing, changes in the statute can be made.

Apart from the sanctions, perhaps the most drastic departure from past immigration policy is the amnesty provision. Under the new law, illegal aliens can apply for permanent legal status if they are able to provide documentation proving that they have consistently resided in the U.S. since a Jan. 1, 1982, cut-off date. Estimating the size of the illegal population in the U.S. is a game of chance, at best, and it's thus unclear just how many people will be affected. Though the amnesty provisions are considered a major concession by conservatives, it is uncertain, despite the claims of Udall and others, how beneficial the provision will be to the Hispanic community in the U.S.

Isabel Garcia Gallegos, a partner in the law firm of Antonio Bustamante and a spokesperson for the National Coalition of Immigrant and Refugee Rights, claims that her research exposes the amnesty provision as a farce. She says that there are so many fine points involved as to render the provision nearly meaningless, and that more than 75 percent of the applicants who actually deserve amnesty will be denied legal status, due primarily to the lack of necessary paperwork. And since the burden of proof lies with the immigrant, the INS will not be required to assist those trying to gain amnesty. "It's a smokescreen," Gallegos claims, "a plan to bring these people forward and then deport them. And they will need a lawyer simply to work through the red tape, and how many of these people can afford that?"

Indeed, due to labor practices widespread among businesses that hire illegal aliens, most employers will be reluctant to come forward and help their workers and former workers prove longtime residency in the U.S. Despite claims by Barbara Buck and others, it is widely recognized that most undocumented workers are hired on a cash-only basis, and, subsequently, employers will be loath to risk a brush with the IRS regarding payroll taxes. One Arizona farmer reported that he will perhaps provide

Continued on page 7

One refugee rights lawyer calls the new law "a smokescreen: a plan to bring these people forward and then deport them."

By David Moberg

The second in a two-part series.

RAW GREED. LEAVENED WITH A lust for power, fuels the record-breaking drive for takeovers and mergers that has been only momentarily diverted by the Ivan Boesky scandal. But all such bids for power seek respectability and legitimacy. The debate over hostile takeovers in particular raises a key question: who should control the corporations?

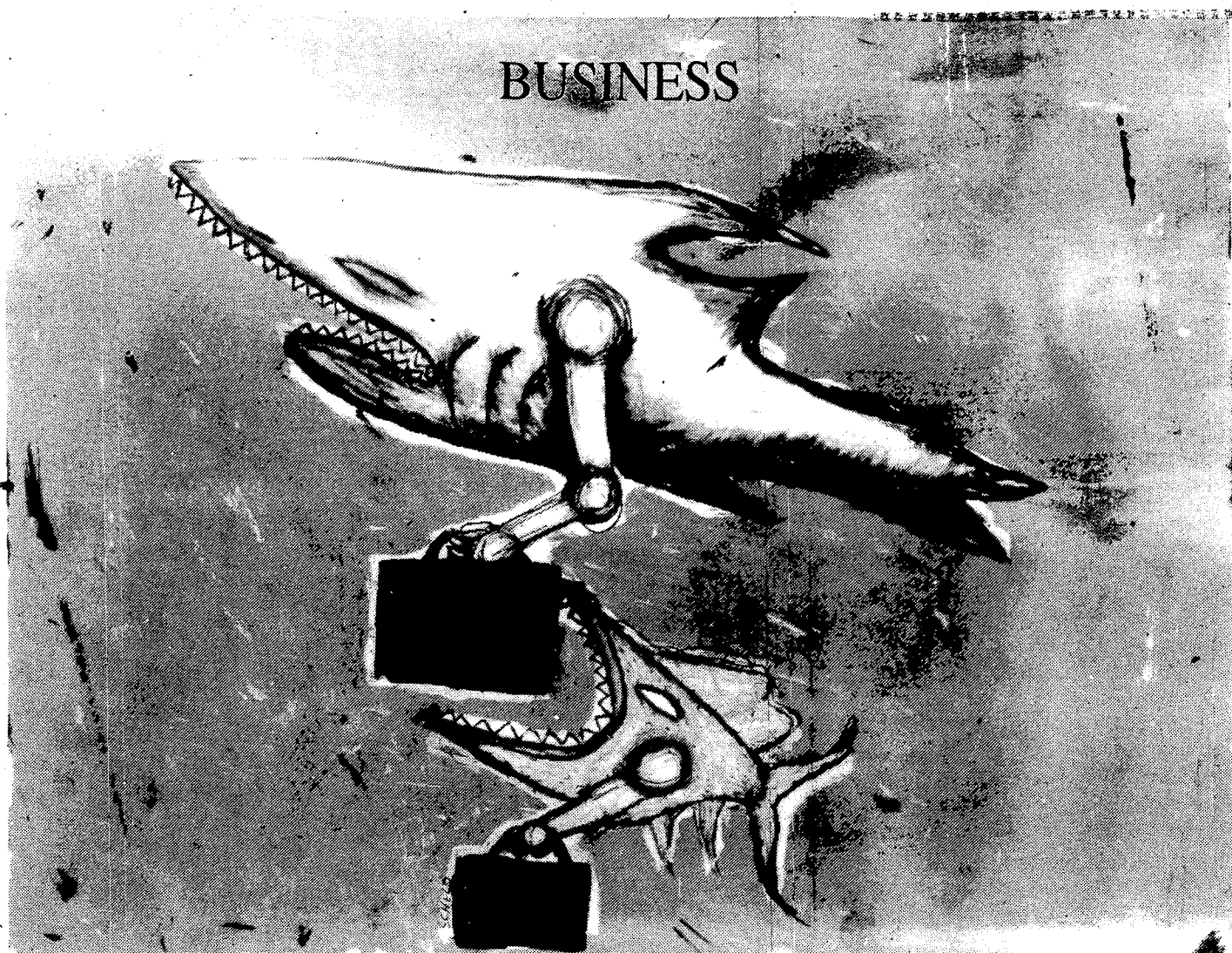
So far the debate has been limited: who are the good guys, raiders or managers? Yet the tale of the raider as agent of corporate accountability and efficiency is largely myth, even though it is also true that many corporate managers are insulated, entrenched, incompetent and arrogant—a disaster for employees, stockholders and the national economy. The alternative to both is a strong form of corporate democracy.

The intellectual defense of takeovers centers on the stockholder. As the holders of ultimate risk, they should exercise final control, argues University of Rochester professor Michael C. Jensen, a leading academic defender of "the market for corporate control." Thus the ultimate criterion for a corporation's performance is maximizing shareholders' wealth. He claims that takeover bids tend to raise the value of acquired companies' stock by 20-30 percent (although the bidding company's stockholders typically gain only 4 percent on offers, nothing on mergers). Therefore, takeovers are good. This market for corporate control, it is assumed, leads to better management and greater efficiency (measured by yardsticks other than shareholder return, mergers and takeovers perform poorly).

But the shareholders are not the only people with a stake in the corporation. Surprisingly, this argument is even made by a number of executives and pro-business academics. "A corporation represents far more than its current stock price," argued Ralph S. Saul, chairman of the board of Peers & Company, a merchant bank, and a former corporate executive, in *Harvard Business Review*. "It embodies obligations to employees, customers, suppliers and communities."

Louis Lowenstein, a professor at Columbia Law School, argued in *Columbia Law Review* that hostile takeovers violate the basic structure of corporations. Working from the famous observation of Adolph Berle and Gardiner Means 50 years ago on the separation of ownership and control in the modern corporation, Lowenstein wrote that shareholders are investors in tokens, not owners with the right to dispose of a company's real assets. (Even their ultimate risk is tempered: others are forced to share the costs of a bankrupt organization [workers, suppliers, creditors] or corporate bailouts and indirect government subsidies [taxpayers].)

Betsy Scheid/NX



The biting problem of corporate control

Stock issues permit corporations to raise large sums of long-term capital from investors who do not have to make long-term commitments and can easily sell their shares. In exchange for that ease of getting in or out of the corporation, however, the investor gives up some property rights to management—or at least to the mechanisms of corporate government, according to Lowenstein.

Yet speculation can undermine the system in various ways. In recent years takeover fears have driven many companies to buy back their own stock and take on debt. Partially as a result, in 1984 and 1985 nonfinancial companies retired more equity than had been issued between the Korean War and 1984. This evaporation of investment—the reverse of what the stock market should provide—has been accompanied by an enormous growth of debt, especially risky, speculative and short-term debt. This makes the economy much more vulnerable.

Since stockholding is more concentrated in big institutions that constantly trade

shares for short-term gains (35 percent of stock is now held by institutions, but they account for more than 70 percent of trades), speculation and its costs grow. Lowenstein says that transaction costs of trading this year are more than the value of new stock issued—up-ending the social rationale for a stock market.

"The takeover bubble [that has fueled the trading] is well beyond the point of rationality," he said recently. The high prices offered do not reflect either prospects for better management (since in many cases managers do not change, especially management buyouts using huge debt mainly secured by the business they're buying) or real efficiencies, he says. Instead they exemplify "the bigger fool theory": I can always find a bigger fool than I am to buy this company for even more.

Never look ahead

This wild speculation and the takeover craze force an even more short-term perspective on U.S. management, which already is crippled by its failure to plan ahead, argues Edward Herman, professor of finance at the Wharton School. The value of anything—and thus the rationality of actions taken—depends on one's "time perspective." For

example, someone who thinks she may keep her car for a few more weeks might forego repairs another owner would make if he planned to keep it for several years. Workers and members of a community in which a factory or office is located typically have a longer-term perspective on a corporation than most stockholders, since their livelihoods are tied to it. They are the real "patient investors," but they have no power.

Corporate raiding is a crude, destructive way of shaking up this country's blundering, self-serving management, the financial equivalent of turning loose on Main Street a band of Hell's Angels loaded on beer and cocaine as a way of reforming a stodgy municipal government. The end might be worthwhile, occasionally even partly achieved, but it comes at a high cost.

"There could be hostile takeovers that are good for employees, the company, communities, the U.S. economy and the shareholders, but no one is doing that on a consistent basis," says Malon Wilkus, president of American Capital Strategies, an investment banking firm. "Though I see some good in dissolving some conglomerates, I don't see the good coming through the offices of these takeover artists."

"We need to build a new economy founded in new concepts of ownership and control," he argues. "We have to create greater democracy in the ownership structure and spread ownership of wealth more equitably or we won't solve any of these problems [of U.S. businesses]."

"Managers like the myth of shareholder democracy because it serves their purposes, but they don't like the reality," says Jamie Heard, deputy director of the Investor Responsibility Research Center. "Management says it's responsible, and they make a lot of their responsibility, but when it comes to accountability, they don't want any."

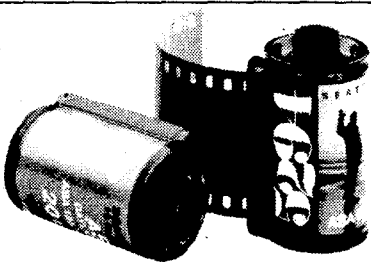
Certainly stockholders have limited power to govern the corporations. Proposals, such as the dormant "Corporate Democracy Act," would strengthen minority blocs and make management more accountable; yet stockholders are only one set of stakeholders. More important, a national charter for corporations—instead of current state chartering—could specify rights of employees, consumers, communities and the government in the affairs of corporations. It's worth remembering that all forms of "private" property, but most clearly corporations, are social creations.

Skirting the issues

In response to the Boesky scandal, there will undoubtedly be a variety of minor reforms proposed—that big stockholders

Continued on following page

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Continued from preceding page
should have to declare their intentions more quickly and that stockholders should have more time to consider bids, for example. Good as they are, they do not address basic questions.

Many political actors, especially from the left, will be tempted to block hostile takeovers. Residents of Ohio recently cheered when newly adopted state legislation in large part discouraged Sir James Goldsmith from taking over Goodyear. It would be a mistake, however, to line up uncritically with existing management. (The Business Roundtable fought hard against Sen. Edward Kennedy's restraints on conglomerate mergers a few years ago, but now they want to eliminate the raiders doing the same thing.)

Instead, it would be better to push for stronger antitrust enforcement. The lax Reagan administration attitude has given a green light to almost all takeovers, encouraging the fever. One limited way to enforce accountability, other than the newly touted market for corporate control, is increased product competition. Difficult though it may be to write, there should also be tighter restraints on conglomerate acquisitions in different product areas. That could be part of broader industrial policy compacts that guide corporate behavior. Yet in worldwide competition, antitrust is an imperfect tool, so some big enterprises make sense.

When it is economically wise and necessary to cut back sharply in operations, legislation should provide severance pay for all workers—not just the golden parachutes now provided to executives—as well as portability of pensions that are vested from the beginning of employment and comprehensive national health insurance. A takeover and merger tax could support a special federal fund to help finance viable worker buy-outs and new enterprises for battered communities. Corporations must be able to change, but workers shouldn't pay such a heavy price.

Already a few unions have toyed with their own brand of "poison pills" to discourage raiders. Those could take the form of severance payments or reimbursement of earlier concessions. More important, through contracts and legislation unions need to guarantee that any new employer will have to bargain with them.

Workers and their unions also need to be guaranteed the right of first refusal to buy a company. Recently unions at Eastern Airlines, who had pioneered efforts to exercise more control within the company but were sabotaged by management, tried to outbid much-loathed raider Frank Lorenzo to buy the company. They might actually have succeeded if they could have found financing earlier. In a few other instances, unions have led unsuccessful bids to initiate their own hostile takeovers through employee stock ownership plans to save their jobs.

More generally, unions need to attack management waste, inefficiency and failure to invest wisely before bigger problems develop. "Unions have to take another step and start negotiating production agreements—what are you going to produce, where and even with what machines—the classic management-rights stuff," says consultant Randy Barber of the Center for Economic Organizing.

All the stakeholders in the corporation, not just the shareholders, must have a voice in what happens to it. Management, despite its claims, does not represent them. The

stakeholders must be directly involved, not to block reorganization of companies and the economy, but to make necessary changes happen more fairly, more smoothly and with more long-range foresight.

Immigration

Continued from page 5

a letter stating that the individual in question was employed by him, but will do nothing more. And others won't even touch the issue.

Another problem inherent in the amnesty provision concerns the migratory work patterns of illegal aliens. Because they usually move from job to job fairly regularly, it will be difficult for the aliens to backtrack and dig up the necessary documents.

A family chronicle of frustration

Gallegos describes the situation as confusing for the worker. "At this point, the immigrant and refugee community is still debating whether to come forward and take the risk," she says.

She identifies the uncertainty felt by many immigrants who have little understanding of the U.S. legal apparatus or have been harassed in past attempts at gaining legitimate residency. A good example is a family, clients of Gallegos, who asked that their names not be publicized. They immigrated from Mexico in 1975 on the basis of a

daughter born on U.S. soil. Under the "child citizen" provision of the early '70s, they were encouraged to apply for permanent residency because of their young child. However, in 1976 the law changed to include only the families of children who were 21 years of age or older. According to Gallegos, this change was made specifically to impede the immigration rush of Mexicans, the group primarily utilizing the child citizen provision. The family was then relegated to the non-preference list of applicants.

Later, as the result of a court decision handed down in Chicago regarding the over-allocation of visas given to Cubans in the '50s at the expense of Mexican immigrants, the family was issued a "Silva letter," named after the decision. The document allowed them to legally remain in the country, pending the outcome of their application for residency. With the letter in hand, they were encouraged to reapply, and fully expected to gain permanent residence. But in 1983 the mood changed in Washington, and the government began pressuring people known to be holding the Silva letters. The family was particularly singled out because they had briefly exited the country to attend a funeral in Mexico. Upon return, they were "paroled" back into the country, which is to say that they were in the first stages of being deported. And, ironically, they had asked official permission to leave in the first place only because they

were attempting to comply with immigration law of the period.

During this Catch-22 ordeal, they managed to purchase a home, send their children to a Tucson-area school and pay state and federal taxes. The husband is employed in a nearby mine. They have become middle-class and established, but could be forced to leave at any time. And like most people in their position, they are uncertain whether the new law will help or hinder their struggle.

One thing is certain, however: they do not want to be forced to return to Mexico. Their native country suffers from an extremely stagnant economy and a system that offers nothing near the opportunity that's found in the U.S. With a population of nearly 80 million people and an unemployment rate of approximately 40 percent, there seems to be little hope, to many Mexicans in the U.S., for the future of their homeland.

And until something is done to help alleviate this dire situation, families like this one will continue to travel north, despite any attempt to tighten the border. The immigration reform of 1986, despite the claims of lawmakers like Udall, may be nothing more than a Band-Aid stretched tight across the 2,000-mile barbed-wire wound that separates the U.S. from the Third World.

Tim Vanderpool is a Tucson-based freelance writer and a regular contributor to the Tucson Weekly.

There is no anesthetic in Villa Nueva.



The *contra* war and economic blockade have crippled health care in Nicaragua. Acute shortages of the most basic medicines create scenes like this one in Villa Nueva:

A six-day-old baby with an infected umbilical cord. No antibiotics to treat infection. No anesthetic to stop pain.

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With your help, vital vaccines, anesthetics, drugs and surgical supplies will arrive in Nicaragua in as little as six weeks. To ensure that our shipping containers are filled to capacity, however, we must receive your check within the next 30 days.

Again, it's absolutely vital that you mail the coupon below, with your donation, immediately.

To save a life, they could not afford to wait for anesthetic in Villa Nueva.

But if you take generous action now, hundreds of children can be spared the pain.

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By Salim Muwakkil

PHILADELPHIA

WHEN THIS CITY'S FIRST black mayor authorized a bomb attack that killed 11 people and engulfed a black neighborhood here in flames, most observers concluded that W. Wilson Goode's political career also had gone up in smoke.

The ruling of a special commission that investigated the bomb firestorm added emphasis to that conclusion when it found that Goode and his top aides had been "grossly negligent" in handling the May 13, 1985, confrontation with a militant utopian group called MOVE. Further, the 11-member panel charged that the deaths of the five children who perished in the fire "appear to be unjustified homicide." It also found that the mayor and some top aides displayed a "reckless disregard for life and property" in dropping a bomb on the West Philadelphia row house occupied by MOVE members and by allowing the fire to burn unabated until it destroyed 61 homes and displaced 250 people (see essay by Alice Walker on page 16).

But Goode has risen from the ashes of that tragedy and, despite the commission's findings and the possibility the mayor even may be indicted on criminal charges stemming from the bizarre incident, he enters the current political season as a solid favorite to win the Democratic nomination in May 1987. A recent poll puts Goode's support at about 50 percent overall. His black support hovers near the 80 percent mark. A flurry of fundraisers and re-election rallies indicate the mayor remains the choice of the city's black leadership. African-Americans comprise about 42 percent of the population in this city of 1.7 million people.

"Most black folks in this city like Mayor Goode," says Falaka Fattah, a community leader. "And they know that MOVE people are a bunch of uncompromising fanatics. The people I talk to don't blame the mayor for what happened on Osage Avenue [the neighborhood in which the incident occurred]."

A random survey of the city's black residents confirms Fattah's observation. "He's a people's mayor and he keeps his word," says Elliot Onley, a 44-year-old Philadelphia native. "He rolls up his sleeves and gets involved in everything. He's not a showboater, he's a doer."

Judy Hill, a native of North Carolina who's lived in the city for 16 years, says Goode "did what he had to do with those crazy, nappy-headed MOVE people," and she absolved him of blame.

"Wilson Goode is no worse and perhaps no better than other politicians," says Leroy Fields, a 50-year-old limousine driver. "But he's ours and we need to unify behind him."

The Goode story

Goode was born in Seabard, N.C., and moved to Philadelphia at age 15. He received a B.A. from Morgan State University, a black school in Baltimore, and an M.B.A. from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. Early on in his public service career he worked with housing and utilities commissions. From 1980-84 he served as managing director of the city's 10 operating divisions under Mayor William Green.

The 48-year-old Goode was elected mayor in 1983 by one of the largest vote margins in the city's history, and he was immediately touted as the best of a new breed of black mayors: a non-politician who was competent, conscientious and conciliatory. Widely characterized as a master of governmental mechanics, Goode received significant support from the city's civic and business leaders in addition to the extraordinary support he enjoyed in the black community.

Political commentators credited the relative lack of racial divisiveness in the mayoral campaign to Goode's low-key tactics, and his conciliatory approach was favorably contrasted with the more ram-bunctious political style of Harold Washington, whose campaign to become Chicago's

first black mayor was marked by bitter racial antagonisms.

The media, seemingly star-struck by this smooth administrator, allowed a honeymoon period to extend throughout his entire first year in office, and before Philadelphians knew what had happened, they had a national figure sitting in City Hall. Presidential aspirant Walter Mondale even called Goode in for a chat about vice-presidential possibilities during the 1984 campaign.

The fateful encounter on Osage Avenue came a little more than a year into his tenure, and now the names Goode and MOVE are linked forever in history. "A year ago he [Goode] was headed for the moon," said City Councilman Lucien Blackwell following the release of the MOVE commission report. "Everything he touched turned to gold. Now, the glitter is gone."

Clark DeLeon, a columnist for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, contends that Goode has lost more than glitter. In a recent column he wrote categorically that Goode "can't be elected after MOVE on May 13, 1985."

Although recent polls seem to lessen the prospect of DeLeon's prediction, there is little doubt that Goode's national reputation has suffered. What made Goode unique was his image as a hands-on, efficient problem-solver, and the commission's findings that he "abdicated his responsibilities" and adopted a "do-nothing, say-nothing" approach—even when "presented with compelling evidence that his policy of appeasement, non-confrontation and avoidance was doomed to fail"—has left indelible blemishes on that image.

Such criticisms go straight to the heart of the Goode administration by indicating the mayor is weakest where he claims to be strongest. What's more, they reinforce an old charge that Goode's congenial manner is actually a technique used to avoid confrontation. The growing doubts about his ability to lead were increased by the problems that plagued the rebuilding of the 61 homes destroyed in the MOVE incident. Costs skyrocketed and the project was be-deviled by delays and incompetent contractors.

The last of the 250 people displaced by the fire are moving into their rebuilt homes, and observers say most are happy with their new dwellings. "I've visited many of those who received new homes and, by and large, they feel they're much better off today than before," says Claude Lewis, a black editorial board member and columnist for the *Inquirer*. "Of course, some of them are still quite upset about their loss of personal property, but they're pleased with the mayor's determination to ensure the project was completed to their satisfaction, even though it was late."

And late it was. Following the May 1985 confrontation, Goode promised the destroyed homes would be reconstructed by that Christmas. However, only one home was completed by his self-imposed deadline. Although the mayor is about a year off on his promise, Lewis says most of the residents remain Goode supporters. Latest estimates on the cost to the city of the MOVE confrontation, including legal costs, redevelopment costs and personal property claims, are nearing \$18 million—more than three times the mayor's original estimate.

Other problems

Last July Goode was widely praised for refusing to accede to municipal union workers' demands for ending a strike by sanitation and other municipal workers. His tough stand in ending that 20-day strike seemed to restore confidence in his ability to lead the nation's fifth largest city and represented one of the few political victories his administration had won since the MOVE debacle. Earlier Goode had been criticized for "cav-

ing in" to the teachers' union by granting teachers a 16 percent raise over three years. Many also had complained that Goode wasn't forceful enough in pushing for a plant that would convert trash into steam to help solve the city's enormous garbage disposal problems. And then there was the claim he gave too much to the Philadelphia Eagles' football organization to ensure they remained in the city.

Goode claimed he took the high road on all of these issues and that his actions demonstrated a desire for cooperation rather than weakness. He charged that his attempts to solve difficult problems by allowing varying perspectives to be presented is being undermined by the media's preoccupation with image. He praised the teachers for their value to the city and sympathized with their need for higher wages, he raised the environmental concerns provoked by the trash-to-steam plant and he spoke of the civic pride and spirit that would be lost if the Eagles decided to leave the city. Although his arguments on these issues were reasonable, even compelling, the media chose to focus on perceived problems with his leadership.

Goode is regularly pilloried by the city's two major newspapers for ineffective leadership in the city council and the state legislature, and many of his political opponents have caught the hint and sought to magnify that criticism. Council members have "learned that everytime they stare at him [Goode], he blinks, and so they beat up on him frequently," Republican councilman Thacher Longstreth told the *New York Times*. "He has the power to put the Council in short pants by snapping his fingers. But he's afraid to snap his fingers." Not surprisingly, Goode's supporters dispute that assessment. They contend he prefers to operate by consensus and this tack confuses the power mongers from the old school of machine politics. There are five black and one Hispanic councilmen in the 17-member city council and voting is often split along racial lines.

Surviving the scandals

Shortly after the MOVE disaster, the city was hit with a big police-corruption scandal that resulted in the convictions of 29 officers. Presently Philadelphia is in the midst of a federal investigation of corruption and 19 people, including a city councilman and two judges, have already been indicted. Many more indictments are expected, but few observers expect Goode to be touched by those impending charges.

The mayor, however, has been embarrassed by several disclosures on the shoddy way he conducts his affairs. The most recent embarrassment concerns a .25-caliber pistol registered to him that was seized from a shooting suspect. Goode claimed he was given the gun by a police officer while serving as managing director and he returned it when he left that office. But there are discrepancies between Goode's story and that of the cop who reportedly gave him the weapon.

The mayor was revealed also to have accepted a number of suits free of charge from clothing manufacturers in the city, and it's further charged that he attempted to purchase them only after the information was disclosed. Additionally, Goode has been accused of padding the salary of an aide who reportedly doubled as his mistress. These faux pas may prove minor irritants, but according to a veteran Philadelphia writer and former Goode supporter, Dan Rottenberg, they "suggest a man who's incapable of calculating the consequences of his actions beyond the next hour or so."

At a recent fundraising dinner at a church in the West Philadelphia neighborhood of Wynnefield, Goode told about 700 supporters that his accomplishments are "not talked about in the media." He said he was



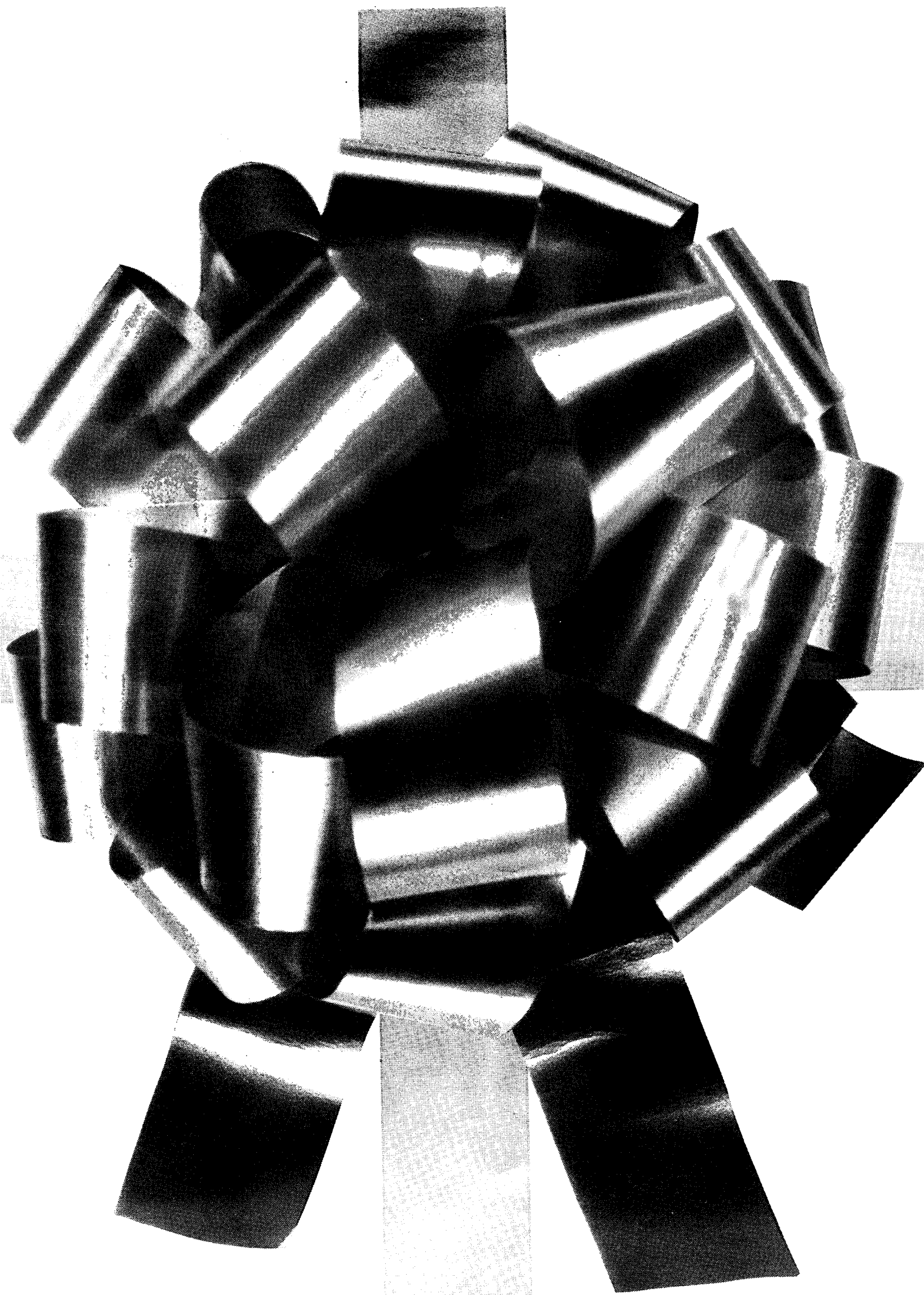
Mayor Wilson W. Goode speaking at ceremony.

a problem-solver who had "provided leadership in a time of crisis."

"We have worked to bring about political stability and a sound business environment in the city," he said, contending that during his tenure the city has won about \$34 million in federal Urban Development Action Grants, an amount he said was "more than any other city in the nation." He claimed that 25,000 jobs had been created thus far by his policies. Goode told the enthusiastic crowd that his administration has placed nearly 4,500 families in vacant homes, overseen the issuance of 3,400 low-interest mortgages and dramatically improved security and maintenance at public housing projects.

"Anyone who wants to look objectively at my record is bound to conclude that we are indeed better off today than we were two years and 10 months ago," Goode told his supporters. He also reminded the predominantly black audience of his importance as a role model to black youth. He noted that black children sometimes approach him "without saying a word...and want to hug me. And what they're saying to me is that 'You are my hope. You are my future, that one day I can be what you are. That one day I can be the mayor of the city.'"

Bolstering Goode's chances for re-election is the probable Republican candidacy of Frank L. Rizzo, the law-and-order fetishist who served two terms as mayor from 1971-79 and as police commissioner before that. Rizzo is strongly disliked in the black com-



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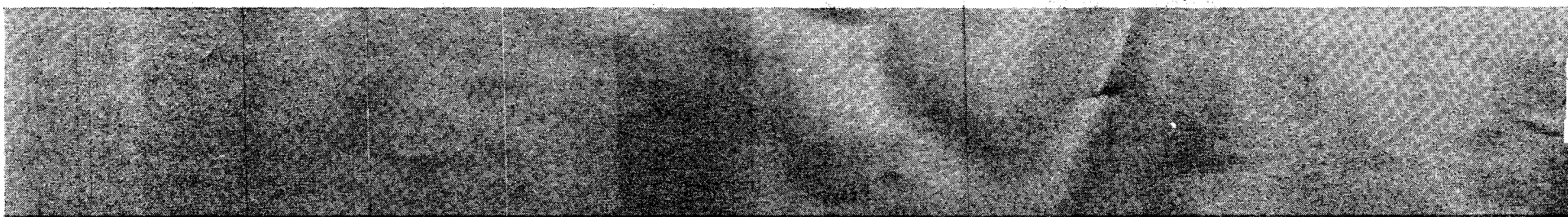
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marking completion of homes replacing those destroyed in May 1985 MOVE bombing.

munity and his candidacy is expected to mobilize black voters as perhaps nothing else could. Although he's made no formal announcement about entering the race, his mayoral aspirations are no secret. He recently resigned his job as chief of security at Philadelphia Gas Works and has increased his public appearances.

Rizzo lost to Goode in the 1983 Democratic primary, and observers say he's been positioning himself since then to make another grab for his old job. He's switching parties because "the Democratic Party no longer speaks to the needs of the people I represent." That the Republican label also provides him with the most feasible way to win no doubt influenced his decision.

Rizzocrats

Analysts estimate that during his two terms as mayor Rizzo attracted nearly 100,000 white Republicans into the Democratic Party. Local observers called them "Rizzocrats." If he gets the Republican nomination, the burly 62-year-old says he'll just "flip a lot of them back to the Republicans."

He's no shoo-in, however. At least two other candidates are actively seeking the party's endorsement: John J. Egan, whom Goode defeated in 1983 and Councilman Thacher Longstreth, who's run twice before. The Republicans won't slate a candidate until next January or February.

Rizzo's anticipated switch also is causing some problems among his loyalists, many of whom are lifelong Democrats. Council-

man Francis Rafferty says he supports Rizzo but that "changing your political party is like changing your religion," and requires a lot of thought. As of now, there's no Democratic challenger to Goode. Former District Attorney Edward G. Rendell has hinted he may run, but Goode supporter and radio host Louise Williams says Rendell assured her he would not run under any circumstances.

Charles Bowser, a black attorney who ran for mayor in 1975 and is now one of Goode's most fervent backers, contends that Rizzo's candidacy represents a serious attempt to "take back the city." He says those Goode supporters who sit back gloating about Rizzo's probable entry into the race "should be out working for Wilson [Goode] instead. Re-election isn't going to be easy. Nobody's going to sail into office this time.... Some of the most powerful forces in this city believe it is now time for them to take over, and they are serious."

In his recent speeches, Rizzo focuses much of his criticism on Goode's handling of the MOVE incident, calling it a "disorganized disaster" that resulted in the deaths of five innocent children. It's "misfeasance by piling mistake on top of mistake before, during and after the tragic conflict, and it's malfeasance for the unforgivable order to drop the bomb and permitting the fires to burn."

This line of criticism is particularly ironic, since it was Rizzo's take-no-prisoners mentality that many observers blame

for the police over-reaction against the radical group in the first place. A police officer was killed in an earlier confrontation with the group while Rizzo was mayor and, according to sources close to the situation, some members of the Philadelphia police force made an unofficial pledge of vengeance at that time. That may explain why the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) is fighting attempts to focus more attention on the actions of the police officers involved in the May 1985 siege.

All but one member of the MOVE investigation panel concluded that police gunfire kept some MOVE members pinned inside the burning building and therefore was a factor causing their deaths. When the supervising judge on the grand jury probe of the confrontation announced such charges should be fully considered, the FOP demanded the judge be disqualified. But the group's demand has been rejected thus far. All the law enforcement officials who called the shots in the bomb attack—including Police Commissioner Gregor T. Sanbor, Fire Commissioner William C. Richmond and Managing Director Leo A. Brooks—have resigned.

In the 1983 race, Rizzo toned down his style and cast himself as the "new Rizzo." His campaign was uncharacteristically temperate, and he abandoned the tough-guy style and colorful one-liners that had made him famous and divided the city along racial lines. Yet, if he chooses to run against Goode he may discard that approach this time around in an all-out attempt to stir up the white electorate in a city that lately has been suffering from increased racial polarization.

Racial tensions

In November of last year a group of whites, protesting the presence of a black family in their Elmwood neighborhood, forced the family to flee and later torched their home. The crowds that gathered had grown so large and become so vociferous that Goode imposed a state of emergency in the Southwest Philadelphia neighborhood that lasted for six weeks. That drastic action indicated just how serious the racial tensions in this city had become. Although Philadelphia is well known for its inviolate ethnic enclaves, it was widely regarded as a city relatively free of racial bitterness until that incident.

The Rev. William Yeats, chair of the South West Task Force, a group created to help ease racial tensions in the area, says he'd "never encountered such racial hatreds as he did during the peak of the protests last year," adding that the situation in his neighborhood remains tense. "Most of the people here are good, decent people, but there are some who are experts at playing on fears, ignorance and prejudice, and they manage to keep the neighborhood racially charged."

Although there seems to have been an increase in racial antagonisms, there are also occasional breakthroughs. John DeMarco, a 13-year-old from the city's Frankfort neighborhood, testified against a man who defaced a black couple's home with Ku Klux Klan markings, and the judge sentenced the man to one year in prison and slapped him with a \$2,500 fine for "ethnic intimidation." The boy's mother had urged him to testify, and she appeared on several talk shows to explain her motives and express shame for her neighbor's behavior.

The Citizen's Committee for Unity, formed in February 1985 in the wake of increasing racial violence, has initiated a number of programs designed to help bring the city's races together in forums where they can express their concerns and fears in a supportive setting. Several of these programs were showcased last month during Interracial Outreach Week, but observers say much more needs to be done to

cultivate more congenial race relations in the city.

The process of gentrification is both a problem and a solution. Attracting enterprising, tax-paying residents to the inner city is the dream of every big-city mayor; but creating methods to accommodate the less affluent people they displace is a nightmare. The process is occurring in most of the country's major cities, and Philadelphia has devised one of the more imaginative approaches to the problem.

The City Council has passed an ordinance that will defer or abate property tax increases for long-time residents of neighborhoods in the process of gentrification. This would create two classes of taxpayers and, although it's still a controversial approach, most of the city's affected populations have given it a ringing endorsement.

So much to do

Like most black mayors, Goode is trying to do many—sometimes contradictory—things at once. His goals are to improve the city's economics by attracting capital and talent, while providing services for those segments of the population who produce little capital. He's also trying to create a hospitable environment for those with discretionary income without further alienating those dependent on governmental income. Goode wants to create jobs, especially for blacks and other minorities, and bolster the image of his city as well. So far, with the huge exception of the MOVE incident, he's succeeded more than he's failed.

Similar to many other old industrial cities, Philadelphia has reached a pivotal point in its transformation from an economy based on manufacturing to one based on services and high technology. Recent studies indicate a strong recovery is underway that includes a renaissance of cultural and entertainment attractions, rejuvenated businesses and a real-estate boom. The city still needs jobs, and North Philadelphia recently was described by one urban expert as the "grimmiest ghetto in all of America in this year 1986. It is our American Holocaust Museum."

If spirit alone could solve the problem, Goode would have solved it long ago. He is an unbridled booster of the city, and his enthusiasm is contagious. "This city is definitely on the move," says Michelle Johnson, a 27-year-old single parent from North Philadelphia. "You can feel the spirit everywhere."

The black community appears to have faith in Goode and is ready to storm the polls on his behalf. Yet not all blacks feel this way, of course. "Wilson Goode is kind of like affirmative action gone crazy," says Chuck Stone, an assistant editor and columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News*. "To me, everybody is so mesmerized by Goode's blackness that they overlook too much."

Stone, who is black, adds, "The black community was just ecstatic that it had finally elected a black mayor and pulled even with Los Angeles and Chicago. The whites were proud because they had finally elected a black mayor and that had to prove that they were not racists. So now Goode is here and we better hold on to him, no matter what...."

Most blacks here, however, regard Stone's antipathy toward Goode with suspicion. The Inquirer's Lewis thinks Stone may have a personal gripe against the mayor. "Stone's criticisms are too consistently vehement to pass for reasoned argument. There seems to be something personal in his attacks," Lewis says.

Personal or not, Stone is probably right about the basis of Goode's appeal to the black community. If Rizzo enters the race, odds are that even Stone will vote for Goode.

DIALOG

KAL spy plane question can't be brushed aside without considering evidence

By John Stockwell

MARSHALL WINDMILLER's review of Seymour Hersh's *The Target Is Destroyed* (ITT, Nov. 19) articulates the questions thoughtful people everywhere are asking about Hersh's curiously incurious treatment of the KAL 007 flight.

Hersh doesn't question whether or not the plane might have flown over Kamchatka and Sakhalin on an intelligence mission. Writing with pat assurance that it was not a spy plane, he presents "speculative" scenarios to explain how 007 might accidentally have strayed over this incredibly dangerous area. These speculations, he admits, require extraordinary "leaps of faith" and the acceptance of at least seven sequential pilot errors, including the pilot's leaving the cockpit for five hours.

Hersh doesn't say what assurance he had that it wasn't a spy flight. It just wasn't. This seems out of character for the investigative reporter who brought us the My Lai and Chile exposés.

Hersh's qualities are bulldog tenacity and the *chutzpa* to walk into the offices of "heavy" people and say, I've got the story on what you did. Here's what I've got, triple sourced. Do you want to comment? And they often do, while he takes notes. The press community in Saigon knew of the My Lai slaughter, but Hersh was the one with the determination to drag the details out and lay them before the national consciousness. He's a battler. But My Lai occurred 18 years ago.

The key to understanding his disregard for the possible KAL 007 intelligence connections is that he entered the project telling friends it was not a spy plane. His

position was taken before he began his research. He wondered at first whether the "Koreans might have been screwing around" but eventually discarded that hypothesis.

Hersh is now under fire because his book discredits conscientious scholars inquiring about the spy flight possibility with unconscionable putdowns: they "got their information from the newspaper accounts," or "do not understand the facts." But if Hersh had the facts, why didn't he share them with his readers? Reputation aside, it isn't enough to assert superior knowledge and beg readers to join in leaps of faith. Not with a presidential administration as full of incomprehensible surprises as Reagan's.

Obviously, Hersh may be right, but he should have examined all the possibilities in the KAL 007 case, as R.W. Johnson did in *Shootdown: Flight 007 and the American Connection* (see *In These Times*, June 25).

Hersh and Johnson agree that, planned or not, the plane's misdirection over the most sensitive area in the Soviet Union resulted in one of the greatest intelligence hauls in history—understanding how the USSR's electronic defenses in that area react to a crisis. They agree that the Soviet Union believed the ill-fated passenger plane was a military intruder—the difference between an unforgivable mistake and an incomprehensibly barbaric act. They also agree that President Reagan and his cohorts exploited the event to humiliate the Soviet Union.

Before the shootdown Reagan did not have the votes for his MX missile program or to deploy the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. The peace movement was turning out one million people at rallies in New York, two million in Europe.

After the incident Reagan got his MX program and the go-ahead to deploy the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. Historians might note how often in our history dramatic events have been exploited to manipulate public opinion—the battleship *Maine* in the Spanish/Cuban/American War, the *Lusitania* in World War I, Pearl Harbor in World War II and the Gulf of Tonkin in Vietnam.

Hersh contends that President Reagan's cynical exploitation of the KAL 007 incident is the issue. Reagan played politics, willfully lied, and gleefully humiliated the Soviet Union, further poisoning the already troubled waters of superpower dialogue.

Although Hersh was obviously persuaded by the Air Force Intelligence commander's claim to have scooped the intelligence world by immediately producing an accurate analysis, he makes it clear that this evidence was suppressed, that the president, the secretary of state and others around them never knew of it and instead were advised that the Russians had known it was a passenger plane. Although they lied about the details, they believed they were dealing with Russians who were cynical enough to shoot down a passenger plane. There is no evidence that Reagan was ever advised that the intelligence community eventually concluded the Soviets had thought they were downing a military plane.

My own concern goes a step beyond KAL 007. The nation is teetering on the brink of a Central American war, while supporting with arms, money and advisers low-intensity conflicts across the globe. We are racing ahead with the deployment of 17,000 more nuclear weapons that not only malfunction continuously but whose use is under the advisement of visibly fal-

lible, often angry men and women. In the interest of minimizing violence, of avoiding war, of promoting planetary survival, it is imperative that we circle the intellectual wagons, strip away the teflon and hold the cowboys and adventurers responsible.

Hersh's sympathetic, unskeptical treatment of George Shultz, whom he presents as a good, decent human being, concerned about the little guy, considerate of his secretaries, outraged at the thought of the women and children who died on the KAL flight, not only weakens the credibility of his book but also relaxes the essential atmosphere of scrutiny and skepticism.

Undoubtedly Shultz's staff is eager to project such a benevolent image, but there are obviously other sides of the man. He supports the gang-raping, baby-killing contras in Nicaragua. "Terrorism" is his specialty in the Reagan administration and he was deeply involved in the bombing of Libya that targeted Khadafy's home and killed his baby daughter. Did anyone hear Shultz apologizing? Shultz is the Reaganite who sponsors the pre-emptive strikes bill that would permit him, as Secretary of State, to formulate a list of terrorists, known terrorists and terrorist supporters inside this country as well as abroad. If one's name is on the list Shultz could order strike teams to kick down the door and kill with impunity, without due process. He admits that innocent people would be killed and that action would be taken on the basis of information that would never stand up in a court of law.

Shultz was involved in the Libyan disinformation campaign and, despite his self-serving disclaimers, knew we were shipping arms to the government in Tehran.

And in the debate with Caspar Weinberger, Shultz, the secretary of state, argues that we should not wait for public support in the waging of war, while Weinberger, the secretary of defense (war), avows no interest in conflicts that do not have public support.

John Stockwell was CIA station chief in Angola.

Rhetoric?

IN HER REVIEW "BIG COUNTRY, SMALL movie" (ITT, Nov. 26) Pat Aufderheide trivializes David Byrne's *True Stories* with lots of rhetorical flourishes.

In her opening paragraph she says "the film is fiercely abstract, concerned with the collapsing of categories in American culture." Ignoring the fatuous clichés about abstraction (the kind of statement that might have been fresh at the time of the Armory show), one has to ask just what "categories in American culture" she's talking about? In her second paragraph one discovers that she's not talking about American culture at all. The real subject of her review is art with a big A, and what she calls "Byrne's [unflinching] exposure of the crisis in social and aesthetic categories."

One never finds out what this "crisis" is since Byrne's film is not concerned with "social and aesthetic categories." This doesn't seem to bother Aufderheide, who wanders off into poorly lighted corridors asking if there's a good distinction between the world of art and that of "experience."

Byrne's film is really the latest expression of an age-old American story. Like Rip Van Winkle, he discovers an America where "nothing happens" except that the architecture gets duller and people forget who they are. Commodities are rushed in to fill the void. In the meantime, he gives his viewers a beautiful parody of the American search for signs of individual identity. Aufderheide has become too much the aesthete to appreciate the

humorist in David Byrne. He is the "post modern" Chaplin, and not a critic of indeterminacy.

Stephen Kuusisto
Geneva, N.Y.

Alarming

SINCE CAROL BACHELDER OF BOISE, Idaho, is a reader of *In These Times*, I have to assume she considers herself to have some progressive political tendencies. That is why her letter (Union Mafia, Nov. 19) is so disheartening, alarming and appalling.

Bachelder has obviously fallen for the capitalist business line on "big labor"

LETTERS

hook, line and sinker! As a political progressive, who also happens to work for a union, I have to wonder if she has ever read any history of the American Labor Movement. Almost without exception, organized labor has been at the forefront of every fight for legislation benefiting all workers, not just issues that are "self-serving," as she claims.

As for her claim that unions are not democratic, Bachelder should ask the literally hundreds of union officers who are defeated for re-election by their memberships. I doubt they would agree with her assessment.

Workers have no rights on the job without a union. Where does Bachelder pro-

pose workers go for protection? Maybe she also believes employers care about something other than the almighty dollar?

I admit unions are not perfect, but the real problem with them is that too many members have—as has Carol Bachelder—accepted our capitalist cultural mythology and believe that workers cannot take control of their own lives either through their union, political parties or community organization.

William F. Johnston
President, District 17, United Food & Commercial Workers, Bellevue, Wash.

The perfect gift

A RECENT NEWS STORY STATED THAT ONE of the xmas gifts given to the president from Nancy was a manure spreader.

Robert O. Wille
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

PERSPECTIVE

The denial of Mideast reality hurts Israel

By Diana Johnstone

FROM TIME TO TIME IN THESE *Times* readers write to cancel subscriptions because of something I have written about Israel. This does not happen when I write something critical about any other country.

For quite some time now, a certain number of American Jews evidently have considered it their duty to defend Israel from any and all criticism. At any unwelcome bit of news about Israel, any unpleasant fact past or present, the sentinels rush to cry outrage. Unwelcome facts can easily be dismissed as false and malevolent since they do not fit into the prevailing image. They are shoved back into the crowded closet.

I do not know whether the sentinels believe that Israel is as blameless as they require us to pretend, or whether, like Elie Wiesel, they have decided that Israel must not be criticized outside Israel. But I am reasonably convinced that their attitude is bad for truth, bad for Israel and bad for us all.

If in 1986 there is much about Israel that calls for criticism, it is surely in very large part due to the immunity from criticism Israel has enjoyed in the U.S.

Why, for instance, has Israel been playing such a negative role in Central America in recent years? Israel's immunity from criticism has made it a perfect substitute for the U.S. in places like Guatemala, where U.S. military aid to bloody dictatorships has been restrained by congressional concern about human rights. Members of Congress are far more indulgent toward the Israeli government than toward their own. This immunity is a corrupting factor, inviting Israeli leaders to act on the cynical assumption that they can get away with anything.

The vigorous and courageous criticism of Israel by Israelis filters through to the U.S. only in small doses and is undermined by unlimited, ongoing U.S. aid. The defensive attitude of many American Jews regarding Israel combines misplaced fear of anti-Semitism with a characteristically American lack of historic sense and the tendency to simplify the history of nations into moral tales. Indeed, Jews living in Europe are generally much more critical of Israel than non-Jews living in the U.S. They know more history.

Far from the echoes of history, Americans have been able to build their own dream Israel that resembles the dream America of first-grade Thanksgiving lessons about the Pilgrim fathers. Certainly, the uncritical enthusiasm for Israel in the U.S. has a lot to do with the similarity between their founding myths: in both cases, good, freedom-loving people fled wicked Europe's persecution in order to make a wonderful new life in an empty land previously inhabited only by a scattering of semi-nomadic savages.

These convergent myths encourage a limitless self-righteousness toward the rest of the world that can be highly dangerous in a military superpower whose population is extraordinarily ignorant of history, geography and the political thinking of other peoples.

A result today is that the most fanatic Zionists in the Jewish settlements in the Arab territories occupied by Israel are from the United States. Self-righteous, American-bred religious fanatics are ac-

tively helping push Israel toward fascism and the Mideast toward Armageddon.

The original vision

The image of the young State of Israel owed a great deal to the attractive accomplishments of left-wing Zionism, such as the kibbutz movement. Most Americans were quite unaware of extreme right-wing Zionism until the rise of Menachem Begin, who had been chief of the terrorist army Irgun that massacred the village of Deir Yassin in April 1948 in order to frighten Arab Palestinians into fleeing the country. The early image of left-wing Zionism tends to linger on, even as the reality fades.

It is not unusual in history for the memory of martyrs to become the moral capital of new institutions. The state of Israel has managed to reap the moral inheritance of the Holocaust. There is certainly bitter irony in this for all the anti-Zionist Jews who were slaughtered by the Nazis along with the rest.

The triumph of Zionism has obscured certain historic factors in Nazi persecution of the Jews. Hitler's mad hatred against Jews was largely drawn from the very particular political anti-Semitism of his native Austria, which combined a Pan-German response to the ethnic nationalism shaking the Austro-Hungarian empire with the anti-capitalist resentment of small artisans against Jewish capitalists. This "socialism of fools" became a component of National Socialism in Germany in ideological combat against the Marxist critique of capitalism. Persecution turned to genocide as a result of the Nazi project in World War II: the construction of a German empire in Eastern Europe through the enslavement of the Slavic peoples to the "master race." Rival elites or populations that did not appear to fit into this scheme were brutally massacred: the Jews (who like the Germans were considered "culture bearers" in much of Eastern Europe), but also Polish intellectuals and Serbs in Yugoslavia.

Certain right-wing Zionists saw in Hitler's project the historic opportunity to regroup the Diaspora in Israel. The extreme right-wing armed Zionist group LEHI refused to suspend hostilities against Britain during World War II, hoping instead to use the defeat of the British to proclaim a Jewish state in British-mandate Palestine and to populate the new state with Jews expelled from Nazi-dominated Europe. According to published documents, LEHI wrote to Hitler promising that a "national and totalitarian" Jewish state would protect German interests in the Mideast. There was a parallelism between the Nazi project for Slavic Europe and fascist Zionism's approach to the Arabs. After LEHI's leader Avraham Stern was killed in 1942 by British police, the leadership of the "Stern gang" was taken over by Yitzhak Yezernitsky, who under the name of Yitzhak Shamir is today prime minister of Israel.

Already in 1938, as a member of Irgun, Shamir took part in terrorist attacks on Arab crowds. A friend has recalled throwing hand grenades alongside Shamir into a Tel Aviv-Jaffa commuter train full of Arabs. That summer, Irgun bombed a Haifa vegetable market killing 23 Arabs and wounding 79, as well as other targets in Jerusalem and Jaffa.

In 1944, LEHI assassinated Walter Edward Guinness, Lord Moyne, the British resident minister in Egypt, in front of his

house in Cairo. After Irgun blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, Shamir was arrested by British police in a general round-up of militant Jewish leaders. Shortly thereafter, Sergeant Cliff Martin, the policeman who recognized Shamir under his rabbi beard, was brutally murdered and his body tied up in a tree.

In 1948, the United Nations mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, was assassinated by the Stern gang.

Shamir was in Mossad from 1956 to 1967, and originated the active propaganda for promoting Jewish emigration from the USSR.

Israeli journalist and Knesset member Uri Avneri has described Shamir as "the greatest terrorist of his time."

"Israel has also resorted to hijacking of airplanes, and may indeed have initiated this practice," wrote Noam Chomsky in *The Fateful Triangle*. "In December 1954, a Syrian civilian airliner was captured by Israeli military aircraft to obtain hostages for exchange with Israeli soldiers who had been captured within Syria. The prime minister of Israel, Moshe Sharett, states in his diary that he was informed by the State Department that our action was without precedent in the history of international practice."

Limited ignorance

Americans may prefer to remain ignorant of such facts. But they cannot prevent Europeans, much less Arabs, from knowing them. And when Palestinians look at Yitzhak Shamir today, they are likely to think that terrorism pays.

When Israel bombs Tunis or the U.S. bombs Libya, Arab peoples simply do not believe that it is being done to punish "international terrorism."

The current crusade against "international terrorism" is precisely an invention of the Israeli government, promoted through its "Jonathan Institute" at high level conferences in Jerusalem in 1979 and Washington in June 1984, with U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz as chief convert. Surely no such special campaign is necessary to persuade governments to combat crimes such as abduction and murder. The purpose of this campaign is to identify terrorism directly with Arabs and indirectly with the Soviet bloc, the better to rally NATO allies to Israel's side in its wars against the Arabs.

In July 1954, in preparation for the Suez war against Egypt, Israeli Defense Minister Pinhas Lavon sent agents to bomb British and American cultural centers in Egyptian cities in order "to break the West's confidence" in the Egyptian government. This was a typical "false flag" operation: the British and Americans were to believe that Moslem terrorists had planned the bombs.

Americans notoriously lack curiosity

about the rest of the world. The Mideast is too strange and complicated to hold American attention. A simple dichotomy of good Jews against wicked Arabs is easy to grasp. But the complex reality is further complicated by the operational results of American illusions.

The three-way conflict (amid many others) between (1) Israel, (2) Arab states and (3) the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which wrested leadership of the Palestinians away from the Arab states after the 1967 war, creates a framework very favorable to "false flag" operations carried out by secret services of all three parties. It is possible, for example, to assassinate somebody in one enemy camp and blame it on the other. There is reason to be wary of jumping to conclusions. European governments are right to refrain from making hasty decisions that could have grave long-range consequences on the basis of such murky incidents (which was the point made by French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in his recent interview in the *Washington Times* (*In These Times*, Nov. 26)).

The Israeli secret service Mossad has gained a reputation for such ruthless cleverness that when some obscure terrorist action benefits Israeli interests, people in the Mideast immediately suspect Mossad. This does not mean that people fancy that the Arab states are run by angels or that the Palestinians could do no wrong. Mossad is certainly not guilty of everything it is accused of, but it has been guilty of enough to be suspected of anything.

By this point, I assume a certain number of readers have long since stopped reading and are angrily typing out their cancellation letters. Like shooting the bearer of bad news. But the bad news won't go away. As to the bearer's conclusions, here they are:

The undeniable fact that Israel's secret services have committed crimes does not imply that Israel has no right to exist. Israel does exist. Its founding history was messy, like most nations, not the pure moral saga one would like. But Israel should no more be wiped out because of what Mossad may have done than should the U.S. be wiped out because of the CIA, France because the DGSE sank the *Rainbow Warrior* or the Palestinian people because terrorists acting in their name have committed murder.

The future of Israel depends on a conversion of its aims from expansion and domination to living in peace with its neighbors. This would be possible if the considerable talents of the Israeli people were turned toward such a goal. But today Israel is mobilized in the opposite direction, and a great deal of responsibility for its perilous course belongs to Americans who have made Israeli leaders feel immune to criticism whatever they do. ■

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PERSPECTIVE

Left challenge on issues brings grassroots campaign gains

By Dean Becker

IN RECENT YEARS THERE HAS been a considerable reluctance among people on the left to run for public office. There has been a tendency to follow the accepted wisdom that the electorate is moving to the right, enamored with Ronald Reagan's reactionary rantings. Our experience in putting together a progressive congressional campaign in Michigan's 2nd Congressional District indicates that this reluctance is misplaced. We found—in a massive grassroots campaign with more than 1,000 volunteers—that people overwhelmingly agreed with the positions we took on issues. We were not able to overcome the fact that we were challenging a five-term incumbent in an overwhelmingly Republican district, but our 41 percent showing was more than 10 percent better than Democratic candidates have received in recent elections. The campaign enabled us to discuss issues substantively with thousands of people and will strengthen the organizations that worked with us.

The campaign originated in the Central America solidarity movement. We had been trying to pressure our representative, Carl Pursell, to oppose Reagan's Central America policy. He had a reputation as a moderate who occasionally bucked Rea-

gan, so we thought this might be possible. But he turned out to be completely unresponsive. When our phone calls, letter writing and office visits proved ineffective, we turned to sit-ins. Within a year we had three separate sit-ins. The number of arrestees increased at each one, from 17 to 50 to 118.

We moved into the electoral arena last spring with a ballot initiative in Ann Arbor's city elections, stating the opposition of the people of Ann Arbor to Reagan's Central America policy. The initiative won almost 62 percent of the vote. Our success with the initiative, together with the failure of the Democrats to field a genuinely progressive candidate, led us to enter the primary for the Democratic nomination for Pursell's seat. We felt that even if we couldn't win we could at least call attention to U.S. policy in Central America and other issues.

We filed late—in May—with the primary scheduled for August 5. The person we were challenging had been running since he had lost the previous primary in 1984. He had managed to line up the support of most regular Democrats around the district, the UAW and the AFL-CIO. He also received the endorsement of every major newspaper in the district. And he outspent us 8-to-1.

Almost no political observers gave us a chance. But we managed to win the

primary by mobilizing more than 100 people in a massive effort to get out the vote. We carried Ann Arbor overwhelmingly, which was enough to compensate for losing most of the rest of the district.

Going into the fall election we knew we faced tremendous odds, and we were not even sure we should take the race seriously. The district, since being redrawn after the 1980 census, is overwhelmingly Republican. Detroit suburbs, which are over 70 percent Republican, are about one-fourth of the district. Ann Arbor, which is slightly Democratic, is another quarter. Rural areas, which are over 60 percent Republican, make up about 30 percent. The remaining area consists of the dying industrial city of Jackson and its suburbs. They are slightly Republican. In addition to the shape of the district, Pursell also had the advantage of being a five-term incumbent who could raise large sums of money. We could count on virtually no money, and not much support from the party organization.

Knowing we would have no money to run a media-oriented campaign, we concentrated on sending canvassers door to door throughout the district. Most of our volunteers were students at the University of Michigan, but we did pick up some campaign workers in parts of the district outside Ann Arbor.

We found that many people agreed with us on the issues most places we went. We focused our attack on Pursell's contra aid votes, his support for higher military spending (in particular, Star Wars) and on his willingness to cut Social Security, Medicare and other social programs. We took strong pro-labor stances, among other things, calling for a 35-hour workweek. We also attacked Pursell on his support for Reagan's farm policy. As an alternative, we actively supported the Family Farm Preservation Act.

I believe we won the overwhelming support of people we were able to contact. Reagan has pushed the political agenda so far to the right that positions that may appear radical to mainstream politicians and political observers are simply common sense to the average person. When you consider that the rich have had their taxes cut by around 60 percent in the last six years, it's not hard to get people to agree that, given the size of the deficit, we should retake some of those tax cuts. One finds that there is simply no support for contra aid or the overthrow of Nicaragua's government that it is supposed to bring about. The logic of Star Wars, that we should spend one trillion dollars on a system that almost certainly will not work, instead of agreeing to a treaty that will eliminate the missiles pointed at us, is something that few agree with.

The issues

The basic question we put to people was whether they favored cutting Social Security, Medicare, education and other programs in order to pay for a war in Central America and extravagant weapons systems. We won over people who regarded themselves as staunch conservatives, since our attacks on wasteful military spending appealed to people concerned about getting something for their tax dollars. By dealing directly with the issues we were able to get around barriers that have been formidable in the past.

Pursell tried to ensure that issues were not discussed. He made much of the fact that I was endorsed by the local Democra-

tic Socialists of America, referring to them in a televised debate as "the Democratic Socialist Party out of New York City." He also accused us of "decimating" his office and "intimidating" his staff during the sit-ins at his office. Fortunately, the press, for the most part, attacked Pursell for his McCarthyism, but they still printed his attack, which undoubtedly scared many voters. (We decided to sue Pursell for his remarks about decimating his office and intimidating his staff, which are outright lies.)

While the reporters who covered the race for the most part tried to be fair, we were victimized by their notions of impartiality. Pursell tried to avoid letting his support for cuts in social programs become an issue by denying that he had voted for cuts. While his votes for cuts can be documented by a quick glance at the congressional record, the topic was treated as a matter of partisan debate.

Pursell's success at having a readily verifiable fact become a matter of opinion led us to—not altogether facetiously—contemplate calling him a child molester. This is a standard Reagan ploy for which it seems there is no adequate response. By telling a blatant lie, an accepted fact is suddenly a partisan issue. Maybe the Sandinistas do dress up as contras and mutilate civilians. Maybe the military budget really doesn't contribute to the deficit. Maybe Reagan never proposed cutting Social Security. As long as the press' notion of impartiality leaves it open for this sort of manipulation, it provides an incredible temptation to engage in the same sort of deception. It certainly puts someone committed to running an honest campaign at a disadvantage.

While the newspaper reporters tried to treat us fairly, the same cannot be said of their editors, in particular, the editors of the *Ann Arbor News* and the *Detroit Free Press*, the two largest papers covering the race. While most of the district's papers endorsed Pursell out of deference to an incumbent who has not been caught in a scandal, the *Ann Arbor News* and *Free Press* made special efforts on his behalf. Both papers regard themselves as guardians of the status quo and were offended by a candidate who had not cut the right deals. The *Free Press* virtually came out and said this with a comment about my not being ready for Congress. The *Ann Arbor News* decided unilaterally to declare our effort a one-issue campaign, which undoubtedly cost us a lot of credibility.

Perhaps the biggest surprise of the campaign was our endorsement by the *Hillsdale Daily News*, a paper generally considered to be conservative and Republican. Pursell was particularly vulnerable there on the farming issue. When we were able to show that he had deceived a group of farmers—by saying at a forum that he would support legislation that he had just voted against—it was enough to win over the Hillsdale paper.

We didn't win the election, but we did do much better than the two past candidates, or than anyone thought possible. One obvious problem with a campaign such as ours is that, even with a massive door-to-door effort, it is unlikely that we ever had direct contact with more than 15 percent of the voters in the district. The returns indicate that the door-to-door canvass was effective, but in order to win the district we would need to do it on an even larger scale, or start sooner.

The campaign did show that people have not moved as far right as the media and the politicians. We didn't try to compromise or hide in the center. We took clearly left stands and clung to them. We showed that it is possible to talk about issues in a substantive way in a political campaign and have a very credible showing, even in a heavily Republican district.

Dean Becker was the Democratic candidate in Michigan's 2nd Congressional District.

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By Pat Aufderheide

SOMETHING WILD, THE NEW movie by unpredictable populist Jonathan Demme, is a very black comedy indeed. It's the movie of the moment in which baby arbitrageurs are taking center stage; it's all about risk and consequences.

Demme is the director who's been surprising us since *Citizens Band*, an ensemble delight featuring the tract-home and CB culture of America's sometime-working class. And in *Melvin and Howard*, he offered a loving portrayal of the trailer-dwelling everyman who claimed to be Howard Hughes' heir.

The director has found kindred spirits in his search for an artform that captures the winsome energy of people caught up in, but never consumed by, the whirlwind of commodity culture (most notably, David Byrne and Talking Heads, whose work he portrayed in *Stop Making Sense*). *Something Wild* is Demme's latest attempt to both use and break through the cloying conventions of American mainstream cinema. He aims to tell the kind of real stories that end up in police dockets and the city section of newspapers.

In this film, Demme plays tricks with the ancient convention of the cross-class love comedy, steered by the willful woman—conventions get ancient within months in commodity culture, but this one has decades of gray hair. With his infectiously enthusiastic storytelling, he pulls the viewer into a silly scenario that initially registers as safe. A half-hour into the movie, he has removed the safety nets. And it's a long, long fall.

Road yuppie

Arch-yuppie Charlie Driggs (Jeff Daniels), the newest vice president of a Wall Street firm, takes the trip that Albert Brooks didn't in *Lost in America*. It starts when a meticulously made-up woman (Melanie Griffith), in a Lulu Brooks-lookalike wig, Frida Kahlo-lookalike clothes and Marilyn Monroe-esque demeanor, catches him cheating on a lunch check in a New York neighborhood cafe. She calls him on it only to show him he's a "secret rebel," and as an opening gambit to spirit him away from his responsibilities to a reckless sexual adventure. After she cagily robs a roadside liquor store, they have kinky sex in a sleazy motel room.

That's only the beginning of the unexpected for Charlie. But by the time he's on display as her husband in her Pennsylvania hometown reunion, it's clear that both Charlie and Lulu (a.k.a. Audrey, to her mom and hometown folks) have been indulging in a complementary illusion of security. He's been representing his life as bland suburban domesticity, while in fact his wife has run off with the dentist. She's been indulging in an elaborate masquerade as a postpunk Soho art crowder, desperately patching over her origins as "the fastest girl in high school."

As she takes off her wig and dons a high-school-era dress, she looks ever more vulnerable and less diabolical. But everything becomes clear when Audrey's psychotic husband Ray (in an electrifying performance by Ray Liotta) shows up at the reunion, fresh from prison. He takes Audrey and Charlie on a trip that reveals the violent reality of ripping off retail clerks for a living. It looks like Audrey is going to be condemned to a life acting out Ray's

Bonnie-and-Clyde fantasies and Charlie's going to have to go back to commuter hell when Charlie suddenly decides to take charge.

And that's when all hell really breaks loose.

Fake freedom

Audrey sets the action in motion, and keeps it in the air. It's not her "imagination"—as Charlie would like to see it—that does so, but her love-hate relationship with the complacent and false security that Charlie represents. She, the unprivileged kid from the sticks, wants to puncture and own it—at the same time. It's not only her assault on Charlie's safe little

Something Wild: Demme's latest attempt to break through the cloying conventions of American cinema.

routine that shows us this, but also her own version of freedom in consumer culture, which means not only being able to have everything but also being able to throw it away.

Audrey seems to promise Charlie a kind of freedom from his tedious conformity; he chafes at the notion, saying at one point, "Maybe I don't want to be free."

And she says, "Maybe you're not."

In fact, they're living two versions—upscale and downscale—of fake liberation. Audrey asks Charlie toward the end, "Whadya gonna do now that you've seen how the other half lives...your other half?" But by that point, we've seen how that other half lives, too, and it's not a pretty picture. Disturbing and thrilling, yes, but hardly pretty. Because the side of life that Charlie's been hard at work ignoring has spontaneity without a future, while the side he's been living on has a future without a present.

The absent center of the two halves—a steady human bond of affection—is on people's T-shirts, as the unhappy trio moves through their journey up and down the East Coast. "Virginia Is For Lovers," the ever-present slogan reads as they cut a swathe through that state. That wry iconography—the substitution of the word for the deed—is key to the movie.

Take parental relations: Audrey and Charlie enter "Mom and Dad's" Restaurant, where a grim entrepreneur—anything but a family man—barks into the phone, "Mom and Dad's, Dad speaking." Audrey's mother Pearl (Dana Preu) apparently buys her daughters claim to be married to Charlie; alone with him, however, she reveals that she knows her daughter is lying, only to return to her bland, blind "Mom" role when Audrey returns. Or take the film's longest-running joke, Charlie's habit of reading name tags that waiters and other service personnel wear and then warmly referring to them by name.

In a world of image and artifice, Audrey is the fetish-master. An obsessive dresser, calculatedly indi-

vidualizing borrowed "looks," she also travels with voodoo dolls and lives among icons of mystic power. And she needs them—fetishistic ritual is the secret to living in a world where minimal family and workplace expectations are absent but where people act as if they existed.

Stacked images

The environment here is as much a character as any of the peculiar but entirely plausible icons of individuality that Demme and screenwriter E. Max Frye have created. This is a world of hectic production and recycled meaning. The soundtrack sets the pulse and tone for the film, descending from upbeat pop to driving Afro-accented rock to ominous *ostinato* and surfacing again in the fleshy daylight of Sister Carol's full-bodied rendition of the theme song, "Wild Thing." (The black singer is our last image in the movie, a sly suggestion of the endurance of subcultural vitality under the shifting surface of postmodern life.)

Production design capitalizes on New York artists' street fashion, jamming bold contrasting colors against each other in interiors and clothing styles, in a fierce clash of visual statements. The cacophony of information comes at you in video images, sometimes in TVs stacked on top of another, always carrying some ominous image of aggression or repression. In vignettes and corners of the frame, you can see people energetically putting their stamp on the moment—a bunch of rappers at the gas station, a group of old men in lively conversation at the New York cafe, a couple of artful types chatting on the street.

On this landscape of American restlessness, the central characters

keep moving impetuously, but always away, not toward. But this is not a message film; Demme won't let you stop to pass judgment. With the same ability to make us intensely see and treasure particular moments and characters that he's demonstrated in earlier films, he puts us down in the noisy present and challenges us to see people not only past their disguises but for them, to read the layers of messages and statements blaring out at us from all directions as a kind of truth.

Something Wild opens up like a piece of whimsy, yet has high ambitions. It's a kind of second-cousin to *True Stories*, only Demme brings his infectious good humor and fascination with character to the project, while David Byrne brought his meticulous cool distance and fascination with artifact. Drawing on a self-consciously eclectic approach in new wave art, and melding it with a torqued-out version of genre comedy, Demme has in fact produced something wild.

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THE TRIBE OF DINA

A JEWISH WOMEN'S ANTHOLOGY
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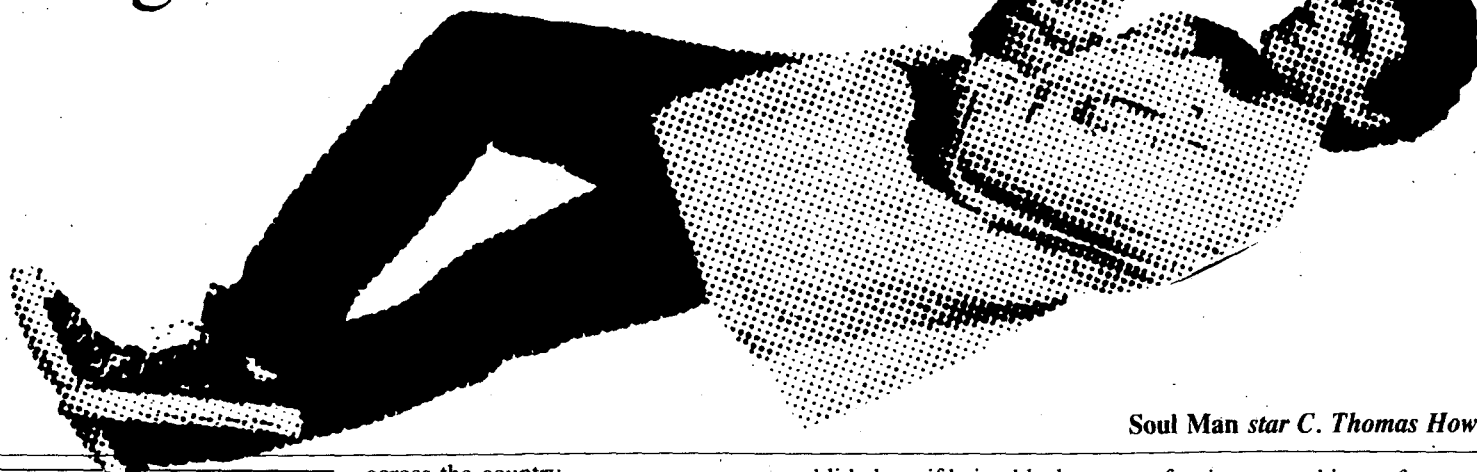


Jeff Daniels, Jonathan Demme and Melanie Griffith on the set of *Something Wild*: playing tricks with cross-class love.

Demme still making sense in his walk on the wild side

FILM

Black and white comedy bought and souled



Soul Man star C. Thomas Howell

By Pat Aufderheide

THE COMEDY HIT *SOUL MAN*, in which a crass, rich white boy gets a scholarship to Harvard Law School by masquerading as a black, is easy to attack. The hard part comes in choosing where to start. And no matter which direction you come from, you run up against the brick wall of box office: the film has drawn audiences

across the country.

The success of the film, produced by Steve Tisch and directed by Steve Miner, is a breathtaking statement on endemic racism and sexism, since the very joke implies a denial of the most basic realities of discrimination and cultural balkanization in the country.

Mark, the film's hero (C. Thomas Howell)—who no one in the film, including blacks, seems to notice is wearing tons of pancake makeup in place of a skin—

acts blithely as if being black were a matter of color, not culture ("It's the Cosby decade," he says. "America loves black people!"). Rae Dawn Chong performs her role as Mark's unwilling love object with an admirable disdain, and James Earl Jones as the law professor seems to will himself into another movie, perhaps *The Paper Chase*. But the plot set-ups, which set new lows for TV sitcom gags, weight the film toward Mark's blind conviction that America will

forgive anything from—even adopt with affection—a cheerful (and white) fool.

Some people just aren't getting the joke. The film has been attacked by law students' organizations, and by the Beverly Hills/Hollywood chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Charging "racism and sexism," and focusing cautiously on specifics, the NAACP argues that the film's insults include the implication that "no

black student could be found in all of Los Angeles who was academically qualified for a scholarship geared to blacks."

In fact, the Cosby decade appears to be happening mostly on television. On the heels of the film's release came a *Washington Post* report on a decade-long decline in the tiny number of black partners in heavy-hitter Washington law firms. The explanation lies, apparently, in the lack of institutional pressure to continue affirmative action practices. Under-scoring the racial divisions of society, many black lawyers in the District then protested the focus of the *Post*'s coverage, charging that they were making an excellent living within the black community, without having to suffer the indignities of working in a white-dominated power law firm.

Back in fantasy-land, meanwhile, producer Tisch defended himself by saying that black filmgoers at a preview screening had an "extremely positive" reaction. Trade magazine *Variety* gave it a rave review, calling it "excellently written, fast paced and intelligently directed." Given the cheerfully callous execution of *Soul Man*, this judgment can only be taken seriously as a patronizing slur on white people. ■

©1986, Pat Aufderheide

Walker

Continued from page 16

etarians and ate their food raw because they believed raw food healthier for the body and the soul. They believed in letting orange peels, banana peels and other organic refuse "cycle" back into the earth. Composting? They did not believe in embalming dead people or burying them in caskets. They thought they should be allowed to "cycle" back to the earth, too. They loved dogs (their leader, John Africa, was called "The Dog Man" because he cared for so many) and never killed animals of any kind, not even rats (which infuriated their neighbors) because they believed in the sanctity of all life.

Hummm.

Further: They refused to send their children to school, fearing drugs and an indoctrination into the sickness of American life. They taught them to enjoy "natural" games, in the belief that games based on such figures as Darth Vader caused "distortions in the personalities of the young that inhibited healthy spontaneous expression. They exercised religiously, running miles every day with their dogs, rarely had sit-down dinners, ate out of big sacks of food whenever they were hungry, owned no furniture except a few pieces they found on the street and refused to let their children wear diapers because of the belief that a free bottom is more healthy. They abhorred the use of plastic.

They enjoyed, apparently, the use of verbal profanity, which they claimed lost any degree of profanity when placed next to atomic or nuclear weapons of any sort, which they considered *really* profane. They hated the police, who they claimed harassed them relentlessly. (A shoot-out with police in 1978 resulted in the death of one officer and the imprisonment of several MOVE people). They occasionally self-righteously and disruptively harranged their neighbors using bullhorns. They taught anyone who would listen that the American political and social system is corrupt to the core—and tried to be, themselves, a different tribe within it.

Back home in America I heard little of the MOVE massacre. Like members of MOVE, I don't watch TV. The local papers were full of bombings, as usual, but bombings in Libya, Lebanon, El Salvador and Angola-Mozambique. There seemed to be an amazingly silent response to the bombing of these black people, the majority of them women and children, presided over,

after all, by a black mayor, the Honorable Wilson Goode (see story page 8) of the aforementioned City of Brotherly, etc. (Meanwhile, there was incredible controversy over the filming of a movie in which no one is killed and a black man slaps a woman!)

Eerie silence

Nor do I yet know what to make of this silence. Was the bombing of black people, with a black person ostensibly (in any case) responsible, too much for the collective black psyche to bear? Were people stunned by the realization that such an atrocity—formerly confined to Libya or Vietnam—could happen to us? Did I simply miss the controversy? Were there town meetings and teach-ins and pickets round the clock in every city Wilson Goode and his police officers appeared? Or did the media (and Philadelphia officials, including the black mayor of which black Philadelphians were so proud) succeed in convincing the public that the victims were indeed the aggressors and deserved what they got? Ramona Africa, after all, was arrested for assault and sentenced to prison for "riot"—and it was *her* house that was bombed, her friends, colleagues and loved ones who were slaughtered.

Thumbing through the stacks of articles I've been sent on the MOVE massacre, I see that an earlier assault on their house occurred in 1978, when a white man, Frank Rizzo, was mayor. Under Rizzo, MOVE people were evicted, often imprisoned, their house eventually razed. Under Goode, a black mayor, their house was bombed, their neighborhood destroyed, and many of them killed. And why?

Through both administrations the city officials and MOVE neighbors appeared to have one thing in common: a hatred of the way MOVE people chose to live. They didn't like the "stench" of people who refused, because they believe chemicals cause cancer, to use deodorant. Didn't like orange peels and watermelon rinds on the ground. Didn't like all those "naked" children running around with all that uncombed hair. They didn't appreciate the dogs and the rats. They thought the children should be in school and that the adults and children should eat cooked food; everybody should eat meat. They probably thought it low class that in order to make money MOVE people washed cars and shoveled snow. And appeared to enjoy it.

MOVE people were not middle class. Many of them were high school drop-outs.

Many of them mothers without husbands. Or young men who refused any inducement to "fit in." Yet they had the nerve to critique the system. To reject it and to set up, in place of its rules, guidelines for living that reflected their own beliefs.

The people of MOVE are proof that poor people (not just upper- and middle-class whites and blacks who become hippies) are capable of intelligently perceiving and analyzing American life, politically and socially, and of devising and attempting to follow a different and, to them, better way. But because they are poor and black this is not acceptable behavior to middle-class whites and blacks who think all poor black people should be happy with jherri curls, mindless (and lying) TV shows and Kentucky Fried Chicken.

This is not to condone the yelping of 50 to 60 dogs in the middle of the night. Dogs MOVE people rescued from the streets (and probably subsequent torture in "scientific" laboratories), fed and permitted to sleep in

their house. Nor the bullhorn aimed at airing their neighbors' backwardness and political transgressions, as apparently they had a bad habit. From what I read MOVE people were more philosophical than perfect; I probably would not have been able to live next door to them for a day.

The question is—did they deserve the harassment, abuse and, finally, the vicious death other people's intolerance of their lifestyle brought upon them? *Every bomb ever made falls on all of us*. And the answer is no.

"The real reason for the government hit-squad is no secret: MOVE is an organization of radical utopians. Their political activity, their allusions to Africa, their dreadlocks, all speak rejection of the system. For this, they have been harassed, besieged, framed, beaten, shot, jailed, and now bombed. The reported shout from the MOVE compound this last fateful Monday was: 'We ain't got a fucking thing to lose.'"

Revolutionary Worker leaflet, May 16, 1985

How does it feel to watch your neighbors
burn to death
because you hated
the sound
of their dogs
barking
and were not yourself
crazy
about compost heaps?

How does it feel
to hear the children
scream in the flames
because you said
the clothes they wore
in winter
were never enough
to keep them warm?

How does it feel
to know the hair
you hated
spreads like a fan
around a severed head
beside the door?

How does it feel
to "take full responsibility"
as the mayor said
for an "absolute
disaster"
to your soul?

How does it feel to massacre
the part of yourself
that is really,
well—
considering the nappy hair and
watermelon rinds
and naked black booties
and all—
pretty much
an embarrassment.
What will the white people
think?

How does it feel, folks?
The bad image is gone:
you can talk now.
How does it feel?

When they come for us
What can we say?

Our beliefs are
our country
Our hair is
our flag
Our love of our children
is our freedom.

We too, fucking yes,
sing America.

©1986 Alice Walker. Alice Walker is author of *The Color Purple*, among other books. This article will appear in an anthology, *Attention, MOVE, This Is America!*, edited by Margot Harry, to be published by Banner Press in 1987.

Students

Continued from page 3

motorcycle squads" set up in the wake of May '68 to break up student and other leftist demonstrations. The men are all volunteers, "military sports" athletes who are said to be very "motivated." The driver zooms in on pedestrians and the man riding behind clobbers them with his long, hard stick.

It was three members of this roving "elite corps" who on Friday night, December 5, were somehow "motivated" to concentrate their blows on Malik Oussekiene, 22, a slightly-built business student of Algerian origin. The squad pursued Oussekiene into an apartment house entry, where they clubbed him to death.

Later, police officials tried to claim that since Oussekiene was in fragile health, he must have died "naturally."

A bitter mood set in among the students. "We are not in Chile!" they claimed. The one value of the Mitterrand years that has permeated the younger generation is human rights. The victim's Arab origin struck a strong chord of anti-racism. The only movement that has had broad success among high school students recently is "SOS Racism" with its campaign, "Touche pas à mon pote" (Hands off my pal). This very loosely structured movement, ideologically close to the Socialist Party, has replaced the militant Trotskyist and Maoist groups of the '60s, ideologically oriented in relation to the Communist Party, as the training ground for student political leaders. Some Trotskyists are, indeed, still there, but they have to keep their Trotskyism to themselves.

The entrance to 20 rue Monsieur le Prince, where Malik Oussekiene was beaten to death, was turned into a shrine, covered with flowers and inscriptions. Someone wrote "rue Monsieur le Prince Malik."

They wore yellow ribbons

The police had more tricks up their sleeves. Saturday afternoon, December 6, as students marched silently in the streets in memory of Oussekiene, provocateurs appeared on the edges, throwing stones at the massed CRS to provoke fights. Officials had to admit that the provocateurs were not the students, but described them as "anarchists" or "autonomes" or just "smashers." But reporters covering the events and countless observers got a clear impression that the troublemakers were not so "autonomous" as all that.

TV crews observed and filmed one particularly busy provocateur, wearing a conspicuous yellow scarf that covered the bottom of his face. Yellow Scarf was active all afternoon and evening, in one place after another, building barricades, starting fires, throwing various objects handily stored in a knapsack. At times Yellow Scarf was seen standing only a few feet from the police who never interfered with his activities. Other observers reported seeing provocateurs, stopped by the students, escape behind police lines, or even into a police station.

An observant reporter for *Le Matin* saw "smashers" methodically breaking in shop windows and then making reports on their walkie-talkies. When he tried to follow a "smasher" he had seen emerge from a police station, the reporter was stopped by three men all wearing yellow ribbons in their button holes. This gave him the idea that the

color yellow was being used to identify "smashers" who were not to be arrested.

In any case, the smashers were not arrested. Saturday night, December 6, police stood for more than two hours doing nothing as men (some with walkie-talkies) systematically built barricades and set them aflame, destroyed parked cars and smashed shop windows. Next day's right-wing newspapers were thus able to cover their front pages with "riots in the Latin Quarter."

But television, especially TF1, played a decisive role in exposing this device. The main policemen's federation, FASP, led by Bernard Deleplace, asked pointedly why the police had been left for hours without orders to act against vandals. Deleplace has long fought against the extreme right groups protected by certain rightist police commissioners. Five years of Socialist government did not root them out.

The main immediate achievement of the December 1968 student movement is recognition of France's limited readiness to digest "Reaganomics." The society will not accept a Thatcher-style forced march into the worldwide capitalist free market.

Even if the factory workers have been very largely defeated, political leaders cannot afford to defeat and alienate the students, who represent France's future as an advanced nation. And the students, for their part, explicitly reject a certain "Americanization," understood as an unrestrained competitive free-for-all where the winners trample merrily over the bodies of the losers.

The U.S. is not seen as a model society by French students. And Ronald Reagan's rapid decline contributes to rejection of the American model.

But what then? France is in a political impasse. What people want is "liberalism,"

IN THESE TIMES DEC. 17-23, 1986 15 not in the European sense of free enterprise but in the American sense. They want human rights and social protection, a place for everyone in a free society. But how is this possible with three million unemployed, with fewer and fewer jobs for young people?

Those on the tough right see that what they call a "liberal," free market economy cannot be achieved in France without strengthening a police state. Robert Pandraud and his cohorts occupy a terrain on which they hope to build the required repressive apparatus: the fight against "international terrorism."

The students have won a great and unexpected victory against the tough right. But to get at the basic underlying problems they would have to overcome their distaste for politics.

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MOVE

MASSACRE

OF '85

By Alice Walker

UNDER QUESTIONING BY commission members, Mr. Goode said he thought he managed the crisis well with the information he had at the time. But he said that he realized in retrospect that his subordinates had not given him enough data to make proper decisions, such as dropping a bomb on the MOVE house. *He was first asked for permission, which he granted, to use the device 17 minutes before it was dropped from a helicopter.*

New York Times, Oct. 16, 1985

"Mr. Goode also said that Mr. Sambor had violated his orders not to involve police officers in the assault who might hold what the mayor called a 'grudge' from participating in a confrontation with the radical group at another MOVE house in 1978. *Several officers involved in that siege participated in the assault this year.*"

New York Times, Oct. 16, 1985

"One of two people known to have survived an inferno that killed 11 people said that police gunfire drove fleeing members of the radical group MOVE back into their blazing house in the May 13 confrontation with police...."

New York Times, Oct. 31, 1985

"[Detective] Stephenson's log also gives a gruesome glimpse of just what kind of deaths MOVE was forced to endure. Excerpts of entries concerning the search for bodies revealed, '15:35--The body of a female was recovered 10 feet from rear door, 8 feet from west wall. On her foot, left, was a black Chinese slipper and was lying on her right side facing the rear wall. No other clothing...head and chest appeared to be crushed, can't recall hair—all photographed."

"16:05--The body of a child was removed under the female. Same area. No description. Only bones."

"17:50--Left forearm with clenched fist recovered at door...."

"19:45--Adult male from waist down recovered, no descriptions. Some skin...."

"11:30--The body of one Negro/male was lifted from the front area with his heart outside the chest area by crane...no arms, legs missing from thighs down. No head...."

Revolutionary Worker, Nov. 14, 1985

"According to the report [the Commission on the MOVE 'confrontation'] Goode paused only 30 seconds before approving the dropping of the explosives."

The Philadelphia Inquirer, March 2, 1986

"Negotiation with MOVE was never seriously considered...."

(Ibid.)

"A long gun battle ensued. The commission says the 10,000 rounds of ammunition fired [into the house] was 'excessive and unreasonable,' especially given the presence of children in the residence."

"In addition, the report notes that work crews found only two pistols, a shotgun and a .22 caliber rifle in the rubble of the MOVE compound."

(Ibid.)

"Once the fire began, it could have been quickly put out if the Fire Department im-

mediately had used two high pressure Squirt water guns it had trained on the house. However...Sambor and Fire Commissioner William C. Richmond hastily made the 'unconscionable' decision to let the fire burn, hoping to force the MOVE members to flee."

(Ibid.)

"At least two adults and four children attempted to escape after the house caught fire, but police gunfire prevented them from fleeing."

(Ibid.)

"Nobody was supposed to survive."
Ramona Africa, *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1986

How does it feel?

I was in Paris in mid-May of 1985 when I heard the news about MOVE. My traveling companion read aloud the item in the newspaper that described the assault on a house on Osage Avenue in Philadelphia occupied by a group of "radical, black, back-to-nature" revolutionaries that local authorities had been "battling" for over a decade. As he read the article detailing the attack that led, eventually, to the actual bombing of the house (with military bombing material supplied to local police by the FBI) and the deaths of at least 11 people, many of them women, five of them children, our mutual feeling was of horror followed immediately by anger and grief. Grief: that feeling of unassuageable sadness and rage that makes the heart feel naked to the elements, clawed by talons of ice. For, even knowing nothing of MOVE (short for Movement, which a revolution assumes) and little of the "City of Brotherly Love," Philadelphia, we recognized the heartlessness of the crime, and realized that for the local authorities to go after 11 people, five of them children, with the kind of viciousness and force usually reserved for war, what they were trying to kill had to be more than the human beings involved, but a spirit, an idea.

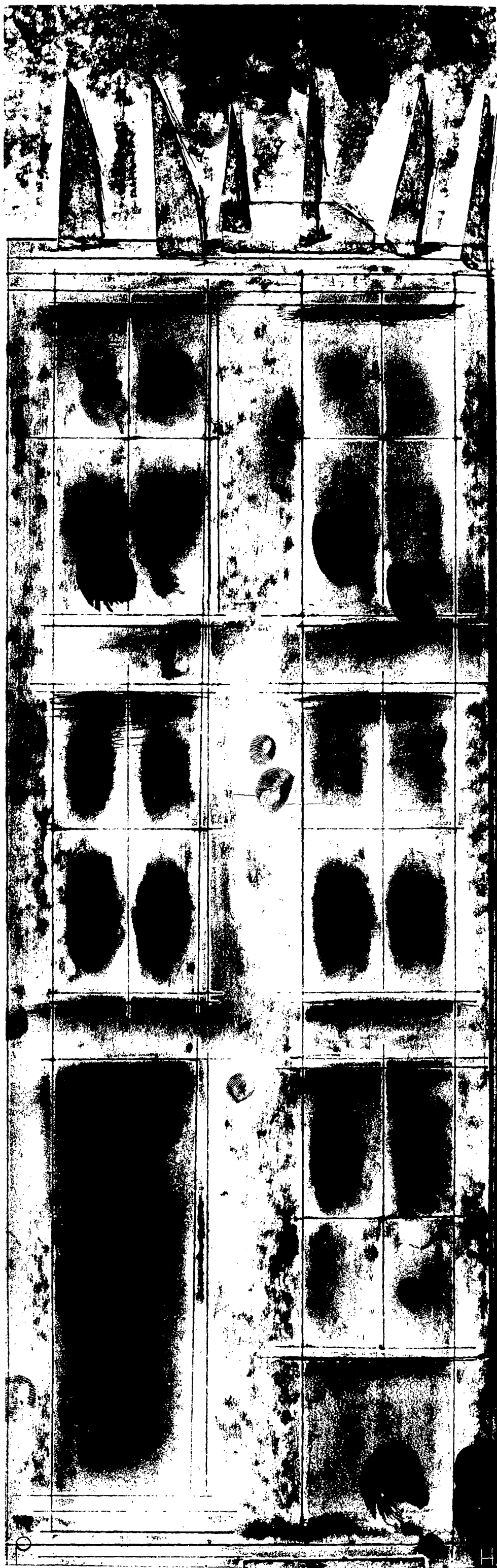
But what spirit? What idea?

There was only one adult survivor of the massacre: a young black woman named Ramona Africa. She suffered serious burns over much of her body (and would claim, later in court, as she sustained her own defense: "I am guilty of nothing but [of] hiding in the basement trying to protect myself and...MOVE children."). The bombing of the MOVE house ignited a fire that roared through the entire black, middle-class neighborhood, totally destroying more than 60 homes and leaving 250 people homeless.

There we stood on a street corner in Paris, reading between the lines. It seems MOVE people never combed their hair but wore it in long "ropes" that people assumed was unclean. Since this is also how we wear our hair, we recognized this "weird" style. Dreadlocks. The style of the ancients: Ethiopians and Egyptians. Easily washed, quickly dried—a true wash-and-wear style for black people (and adventuresome whites) and painless, which is no doubt why MOVE people chose it for their children. And for themselves: "Why suffer for cosmetic reasons?" they must have asked.

It appeared the MOVE people were veg-

Continued on page 14



Peter Haman